

A  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
LIFE

OF THAT  
FAITHFUL SERVANT and  
Minister of the GOSPEL of  
JESUS CHRIST  
Will. Caton.

---

Written by his own Hand.

---

L O N D O N,

Printed for Thomas Northcott in George-Yard in  
Lombard-street, MDCLXXXIX. 1689

JOHN NAYLOR

OF THE

FREE

OF THE

FATHER'S SERVANT

Minister of the GOSPEL

OF JESUS CHRIST

Will. Caton.

Written by his own hand.

LONDON.

Printed for James Nisbet in Great-Street, in  
Lombard-Street, MDCCLXXIX.



*G. F's Testimony concerning William Cason*

**I**N the Year 1663. *William Cason* went to *Holland*; and not long after he had finished his Testimony there, he Died, and soon after that, his Wife Died, and he left this Journal of Passages behind him, which was sent to me, which I thought fit to put in Print: and Recommend to all them that knew him: for after he was Converted, he Preach'd the Gospel of Christ, and strengthened his Brethren, And you may see he was one like to the Converted Scribes in the Kingdom of God which brings forth things New and Old. And he was one like unto *Timothy*, who was an Example both in Innocency, Simplicity, and Purity in his Life and Conversation after he was Converted, for that did Preach as well as his Doctrine in the Churches of Christ. And whereas many have made a boast and a talk of Truth in the beginning, that never knew what it was, but in his Relation you may see both an Example and a Testimony of Truth in the Beginning, and how for many years he travelled many weary steps on Foot, both in *England*, *Scotland*, and elsewhere, in the Lord's Service. And his innocent Life Preach'd both Righteousness and Truth where he came; and was a good favour to God, and in the hearts of People, and was one that had a care of Gods Glory and Honour, and the spreading of the Truth, and the Prosperity of it; and in it spent himself, and finished his Testimony; who in his Life-time Writ many precious Epistles to Friends, besides several Books. And in his Travels he had many Tryals and Exercises by false Brethren, Backsliders and Apostates. Besides his perils by the Sea, and among the Priests and Professors, but the Lord with his Eternal Arm and Power gave him Dominion over all. And as for his Opposers they withered and vanished away; and after that he had finished his Testimony, he died in the Lord and is blessed, And Rests from his Labours, and his Works follow him.

*Gooleys the 4<sup>th</sup> of the  
6th Month, 1688,*

*G. F.*

*A 2*

*Wherein*

W<sup>h</sup>ereas William Eaton saith, he received the Truth in  
Judge Fell's Family; Now the said Judge Fell was very  
serviceable in his day and time, to stop the rage of the Priests, Ju-  
stices, and rude multitude, who often fell upon Friends, beat them and  
persecuted them. For when I was laid for dead by the beating of the  
rude multitude near Ulverston, and afterwards in Walney, when  
the People rose upon me, and thrust me into the Sea, and after  
beat me down, and laid me for dead, and all this was for Truth  
sake. And after Warrants were granted out against me, and I  
was sent to a Sessions at Lancaster, and many Priests appear'd  
against me and Friends; Judge Fell and Justice West stood up  
for us and the Truth, and our Adversaries were confounded;  
afterwards he came to see beyond the Priests; and at his latter end  
Justice went to hear them in that Parish; and let a Meeting be  
in his House from 52. to his Death, and so there has been to this  
day a Testimony of his sense of the Truth of God in his People,  
for which he has his reward of the Lord.

৫.৫

A  
JOURNAL  
OF  
Will. Catons  
LIFE.

CHAP. I

*The infinite Mercy of the Lord God to him from his very Infancy;  
And how it was with him in the daies of his Youth.*

**T**HE God of my Salvation (who separated me from my Mothers Womb) hath been pleased of his Infinite Love to shew mercy unto me from my very Infancy unto this present day, and hath through a secret hand kept and preserved me from many of the Evils in the World, which befalls the Children of men, and which many of them are overcome withal; yea, from my very Childhood hath he dealt exceeding gently, bountifully, and mercifully with me, and especially since he was pleased to make known his heavenly

The Love  
of God to  
him.

B

Truth

Truth in me, and his eternal Salvation unto me. How should I therefore forbear to *shew forth his praise, and to declare his wonderful Works?* To the end that others may learn to fear and know him, to serve and obey him, that their Souls may receive mercy from him as I have done, and praise and magnific him in the Land of the Living: who is God over all, the Creator of all things, to whom be Glory, Honour and Dominion for ever and ever.

His Education.

The effects of a Divine Principle.

When I was a Child, I was Nurtured and Tutored with such a Fatherly care and Motherly affection, as my Parents at that day were endued withal. And while I was yet very young, my heart was inclining to Wisdom and Understanding. And I being inspired with a Divine Principle, did in those daies sometimes feel the power of it overcoming my Heart, and begetting tenderness in it towards my Creator, when I have stood musing upon his handy work. And thro this *Divine Principle*, I was much restrained from some evil Vices which Children are prone and incident unto: But, alas, I knew not that, that which restrained me from the same was within me, tho a dread and fear I had upon me when I was liable to sin against my Creator, which now I know right well, came thro the aforesaid *Divine Principle*: Howbeit, I had also a fear upon me of *Reproof* and *Chastisement* from my Parents; who, according to their knowledge, endeavoured to Educate me in *Vertue* and *Godliness*, and therefore did they *Instruct* me to *Pray* Morning and Evening, to *Read* often, and to go frequently to hear that which they called the *Word of God*. And great was their care to bring me up in the fear of the Lord (according to their ability and understanding) as also in good fashion (as they called it) in the World, and therefore did they Educate me in such Schools as the Country there did afford; and that for many years.

His Parents care.

CHAP.

## C H A P. I.

*How when he was about Fourteen Years of Age, he went first to Judge Fell's; how he had his heart's desire there. At Hauxhead he met with many Temptations, but the Lord was good to him. He returned again to Judge Fell's.*

**W**hen I was about Fourteen Years of Age, my Father carried me to Judge Fell's, there to learn with a Kinsman (a Priest) who was the aforefaid Judges Son's Proceptor, and thereby I came to have an opportunity to be conversant with them that were great in the World; and thro the mercy of the Lord, I behaved my self so well among them as to the outward, that I found favour among the whole Family, even from the greatest to the least of them; and was in due time promoted to be a Companion night and day to the Judge's Son, and did eat as he did eat, and lodged as he lodged, and went to the same pleasure which he went unto, as to Fishing, Hunting, Shooting, &c. And in that day my heart was affected with my Condition. Forasmuch as Providence had cast me into such a Noble Family, where there were such sweet Children, with whose Company I was more than a little affected. And in much pleasure, ease and fulness I lived with them as my heart could well desire: And in those daies there remained an Integrity in my heart to God-wards, and often did I call upon his Name: And to that end, I would have lingered in the Chamber, until that the Judge's Son (with whom I lodged) was gone down, that afterwards I might go to Prayer alone, for my Soul desired to have the blessing and favour of the Lord in them daies, in which there was satisfaction to be found, but not in the pleasures which I followed, nor yet in the ease and fulness in which I then lived.

And after we had learned sometime together in the Judge's Family, we were removed to a School in the Country, at a place called Hauxhead, where I met with many temptations, and seldom good Company, but such as were given to folly and wantonness.



The wonderful  
Love of  
God to  
him.

But the Lord was wonderful gracious to me: And oftentimes when I have deserved nothing but stripes from him, hath he broken and overcome my heart with his *Divine Love*: so that I have often stood admiring his wonderful Mercy, his long Suffering, Forbearance, and infinite Goodness; for truly had his Compassion failed, I might have been destroyed in the sins of my Youth; but blessed be his Name for ever, who had mercy on me.

And as *Providence* ordered it, we did not stay long at that School, but returned to Judge Fells, where it then was with me as beforementioned, so that I then began to see pretty fair into the depth of what the World could afford.

How he  
wrote af-  
ter Priests

And being then about Fifteen Years of Age, my heart began pretty much to incline after Wisdom, as also to seek after Knowledge, for in that Family there was a great profession: And such as could speak of the Scripture, and could make Repetitions of Sermons, and paraphrase thereupon, such were held in Esteem, and therefore I endeavoured much to retain the Heads thereof, but when my memory would not serve me to do as some did in that particular, I did use my self to write much after the Priests, but that which I reaped thereby, could not give satisfaction unto my Soul, which in those daies did, at times, hunger pretty much after the Lord.

### C H A P. III.

George Fox's first coming to Swarthmore; the tendency of his Doctrine. How after his Convincement he left the School. What good opportunities he afterwards had, that he might grow in the Truth: And how abundantly they were refreshed together; after the power of the Lord broke forth among them: And how Friends from far resorted to them.

Their first  
Visitation  
at Swarth-  
more.

AND in the Year 1652. about the middle of the Fourth Month, was that faithful Messenger and Servant of the Most High (by Name *George Fox*) cast among us, who declared unto us the way of Life and Peace. And among the rest in that Family that believed his Report, I was one, who came



came finally to be affected with his Doctrin, tho' at the first did as much admire at his Non conformity to our Fashions, Customs, Salutations, as Strangers at this day admire at our Non conformity unto them, yet behold something in me did love him, and own his Testimony; and in due time I began to find the Truth of what he spoke in my self, *for his Doctrin tended very much to the bringing of us to the Light; which Christ Jesus had enlightned us withal, which shined in our Hearts, and Convinced us of Sin and Evil,* and into Love with that, and Obedience to that, he sought to bring us, that thereby thro' the Son we might be brought into Unity and Covenant with the Lord.

And in due time the Witness of God came to be awaked in me, whereby my Sins came to be set in order before me, and to bring Judgment and Condemnation upon me by reason of them, but I being as the wild Heifer, which is unaccustomed to the Yoak, did seek to get from under it, as I often did, until that I come to know something of the power of God, which brought that wild nature in me (which was unaccustomed to the Yoak) into subjection. And so good was the Lord unto me, that I had not long heard the Truth till I came to be a Witness of the power of it in my self, whereby *the strong man was made to bow in himself, and the Keepers of the House to tremble.*

How Gods  
Witness  
was awa-  
kned, and  
what fol-  
lowed af-  
ter.

And then I had not left the School, but did go along with Judge Fells Son to the School; and he being somewhat Convinced of the same Truth, and somewhat touched with the same power at that time, it was the easier and the better for me: howbeit, we were oftent wild, vain and wanton, and sported our selves in folly, to the extinguishing of the good oftentimes in our selves. But such was the Love of God to me in them daies, that I was as surely pursued with Judgment, as I was overtaken with folly. And sometimes I would separate my self from the rest of my School-fellows, and get retired into some place, where I might wait upon the Lord, and ponder upon his marvellous Works. And when I was thus retired, and in singleness of heart waited upon the Lord, I received refreshment from him, but when I was drawn aside thro' the provocation of my Companions, or the Temptati-

How he  
had his re-  
ward ac-  
cording to  
his doings.

ons of the wicked one in my self, then was I troubled and dis-  
quieted in my own particular.

And in process of time my Study become my burden, for  
when I was so much in trouble thro' the Condemnation that  
was upon me, I was so much the more incapable to make  
*Themes, Latin Verses, &c.* neither could I well give unto the  
Master the trivial Complement of the Hat, for I was then Con-  
vinced in my Conscience of the vanity of it. And my special  
Friend *Margaret Fell* (the Judge's Wife) taking notice of my  
condition, was not willing to suffer me to go longer to the  
School than I was free, but caused me to stay at home to teach  
her Children, and to go along with her when she went abroad,  
and to write for her, &c. which was a happy time for me;  
for after that I left the School, I was also much exercised in  
writing of precious and wholesome things pertaining to the  
Truth, whereby I came to have gallant opportunities to be con-  
versant with Friends, in whom the life of Righteousness be-  
gun to bud and spring forth, and they to grow in Love and  
Unity, with which my Soul was exceedingly affected, and  
very much I desired to be one with them in it, (that I might  
share with them of it) for my Soul was delighted with it and  
in it, far beyond what it could be with the pleasures and de-  
lights of this transitory World.

And when I was about Seventeen Years of Age, the power  
of the Lord God did work powerfully and effectually in me,  
to the purging, cleansing, and sanctifying of me; and then I  
began to see something of the gloriousness of the Ministrati-  
on of Condemnation, and of the goodness of the Word of  
Life, which was become as a *Fire in my Bones*, and as a *Sword*  
and *Hammer in my Heart*. And then I began to be broken,  
melted, and overcome with the Love of God, which began  
to spring up in my heart, and with the Divine and precious  
Promises that were confirmed to my Soul. Oh! the precious-  
ness and excellency of that Day! Oh! the glory and the blef-  
sedness of that Day! How, or wherewith should I demon-  
strate it? or by what means should I explain it, that Genera-  
tions to come, and they that are yet unborn might understand  
it, and give glory unto the Lord *Jehovah*.

Oh the Love which in that Day abounded among us (espe-  
cially

A blessed  
and happy  
Day.

cially in that Family ) and oh the freshness of the power of the Lord God, which then was amongst us ; and the Zeal for God and his Truth, the Comfort and Refreshment which we had from his Presence ; the nearness and dearness that was amongst us one towards another ; the sights, openings, and Revelations which we then had ! I confess I find my self insufficient to declare these things to the utmost ; neither do I now intend to go about to describe the multitude of them particularly : for then I might make a larger Volume by much ; then now I am intended ; howbeit, my very heart is affected with the remembrance of them at this very day.

And in them daies were Meetings exceeding precious to us, insomuch that some few of us did commonly every night, spend sometime more, sometime less time in waiting upon the Lord ; yea, often after the rest of the Family were gone to bed : But, Oh the comfort and refreshment which we had together, and the benefit which we reaped thereby, how shall I declare it ? For if we had suffered loss in the day time when we had been abroad about our business, or the like, then we came in a great measure to be restored again, thro the Love, Power and Mercy of our God, which abounded very much unto us : Howbeit, sometime I was deprived of that sweet Society ( when my heart was with them ) thro my going to bed so early with the Judge's Son, with whom I then did Lodge ; who for a season was tender and hopeful ; but meeting with many Temptations, his heart was drawn aside from the Truth, and his mind run after the delights and pleasures of this present World.

And when he came to be removed to another School, we came to be separated, which was at that time no disadvantage to me in one respect, tho looked upon by some to be a disadvantage to me as to my outward preferment ; but in that day I could have chused much rather to have done any kind of labour pertaining to the House, with the Servants that were in the Truth, than to have enjoyed the delights of this World with him, or any else for a season : For my delight was not then so much as it had been in the vain, perishing, and transitory things of the World, but my delight was then in the Lord, in his mercy and loving kindness, and to be with his People ; for the

Things  
hard to be  
uttered.

How good  
it was to  
them to  
wait upon  
the Lord.

A change  
wrought  
in him.

Amos 7.  
14, 15.  
1 Kings  
19. 19.

A time of  
Refresh-  
ment was  
come.

True  
Love.

Why the  
Family at  
Swarth-  
more was  
renowned.

M. F.'s  
great  
kindness  
to him.

the sake of whose Company I could have exposed my self to some pretty hard Employment, neither was it then too contemptible for me to become as *Amos*, *A Keeper of Cattle*, or as *Elisha*, *To follow the Plow*; for indeed in those daies I did enjoy and possess that which made all things easie and light to me. And Oh the abundance of living refreshment, which I received from the Lord: it is hard for me to utter or declare the same to the utmost: For I was often overcome, overcome, with the Love of my Father, which did exceedingly break and ravish my heart, and so I know it was with others of that Family. and of the overflowing thereof, did we Communicate one to another, to the comforting and refreshing one of another; and truly willing we were to sympathize and hear one with another, to be helpful one unto another, and in true and tender Love to watch one over another. And, Oh the Love, Mercy, and Power of God, which abounded to us, and thro us, among us, who shall declare it? And hence came that worthy Family to be so renowned in the Nation, the same of which spread much among Friends. And the power and presence of the Lord being so much there with us, it was as a means to induce many, even from far, to comethither, so that at one time there would have been Friends out of five or six Counties; all which tended to the augmenting of my refreshment, for by reason of my much Writing, it came to pass that I especially was much conversant with them, and thereby I had a priviledge beyond others of my fellow Servants, for I was frequently with dear *George Fox*, who as a tender-hearted Father (after he had begotten me thro the Gospel) sought to nurture me up in all Wisdom, Faithfulness, and Righteousness, to the glory and praise of my Heavenly Father.

And on the other hand was I cherished, and encouraged in the way of Life, by my entirely beloved Friend *Margaret Fell*, who as a tender-hearted Nursing Mother cared for me, and was as tender of me, as if I had been one of her own Children: Oh, the Kindness, the Respect, and Friendship which she shewed me, ought never to be forgotten by me.

How the Word of the Lord grew in him. How he came to know the power and motion of his Spirit; by which he was called forth into the World; and often moved to go into Steeple-Houses and Markers. And how the Sufferings he met with in them were but little to him. And how he was finally called out of that Family.

**A**ND when I had thus plentifully reaped of the Mercy of the Most High; and that his power had wrought so effectually in me, to the Redeeming of my Soul from Death, then did his Word of Life begin to grow powerful in me, and seeing the darkness and ignorance so great, in which people were involved; my Spirit was stirred within me, and my Earthen Vessel came to be filled with Love to their Souls, and with Zeal for God and his Truth. And about that time I began to know the motion of his power, and the Command of his Spirit by which I came to be moved to go to the places of Publick Worship, to declare against the Deceit of the Priests, and the sins of the People, and to warn all to repent, for I testified to them that the Day of the Lord was coming. But, Oh the weakness, the fear and trembling, that I went in upon this Message, *Who shall declare it?* And how did I plead with the Lord concerning this matter? For I looked upon my own weakness and insufficiency, and how unfit I was in my own apprehension, for to encounter with Gain-sayers, whom I knew would also despise my Youth. Howbeit, whatsoever I alleged by way of Reasoning against the Lord, concerning this weighty matter, I could not be excused, but I must go, and declare what he should give me to speak, and his Promise was, *He would be with me.*

Wherefore when I saw it must be so, I put on courage in the Name of the Lord; and having Faith in him which stood in his power, I next gave up to his Will, and went in obedience to his Motion. And when I came there, behold the Con-  
fession which before I had had was gone, and the fear of Man was departed from me, and Strength, and Courage, and

His first  
going  
forth into  
the world  
to declare  
the Truth

'Tis no  
pleading  
against the  
Lord: over

How mar-  
vellous are  
the works  
of God?



## Multitudes divided.

*Boldness and Viterance* was given me, so that I became (through him that strengthened me) rather as a *Potent man* than as a *Stripling*, and that in the *Face of the Congregations*: howbeit my *Testimony* was by many little regarded, neither did they lay to heart what I declared among them, but some as brut Beasts fell upon me, and did much abuse me, others pittied me and was much troubled for me, and sometime they were much divided among them selves; for some were for me and others against me, but in the midst of them the Lord was with me, and his mighty power did preserve me, and when I had cleared my Conscience among them; I returned in much Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost, for my reward was with me; but I now had a

At the very instant it was given him what he should seek.

And after that the Lord had fixed me for his Work as a steeple-houfe, I was much exercised in going to Steeple-Houfe, so much, that there seldom passed a first day of the week, but I was at one, or another, and I was also often in Markets where I was moved to declare Gods eternal Truth, which through his Infinite Mercy I was become a Witness of. And though when I went to such places as aforesaid, I seldom knew what I should say, till I came thore, yet behold when I was to speak, I never wanted words nor utterance, for to declare that which the Lord gave me to publish, but oftentimes on the contrary I had fulness to my great admiration. And the Bearing, Buffeting, Striking, Stoning, with the many Reproaches which I went through in them days, were little to me. Nay, not to be compared to the afflictions which I had through the enjoyment of the Life, Power, and Love, which the Father had revealed in me, and through which I was carryed through them and over them all. And by how much the more that the Lord tried me in them days, by so much the more I came to experience his Loving kindness to me.

He was beloved of the Lords People.

21 And after that he came to Hingham and his hearings being Numerous,  
and accounted me worthy to bear my Telimony, both in publick  
and in private to his eternal Truth. That much favour and  
respect from and among his People, whose love abounded much  
to me, and I being sensible thereof, was very much supported  
and strengthened thereby, in that Service which God had ap-  
pointed for me, and called me unto in those days; and when  
it was over I returned again to the place of my Residence,  
where



where I was diligent in my *Employment* until that the Lord ordered me to other Service again; either to Meetings abroad on the first days of the week, or else to *School-Houses*, and the Lord was with me; and his word of Life did often pass powerfully through me, and never did I go about any Service for the Lord (in which I was faithful) but I had alwaies my Reward with me.

And when I returned again unto that Honourable Family (the place of my external abode) I mean Judge Fells at Swarthmore in Lancashire, then was our Refreshment very great together in the Lord, and with rejoycing did we speak together of his wonderful Works, which in them daies were very marvellous in our eyes. And after that I had many glorious daies there, and seen many of the wonderful Works of the Lord, in the fullness of time, according to the Will of God, I was called out from among them there, the Lord having other Service for me abroad elsewhere. And then when it was the will of the Lord that I should go, the Judge was much against it, being then very unwilling to part with me, but his Dear Wife, who could not well before give me up, was then made willing freely to resign me up to the Will of the Lord, especially upon so Honourable Account; for I left not them to go serve other men, but to publish the Name of the Lord, and to declare his Eternal Truth abroad.

**C H A P. IV.** How hard it was for them to part. How he went into Warwickshire, from thence to Norwich, and from thence to London. How mightily the Word of the Lord began to grow there; and what great Service he and the Brethren had in that place, and elsewhere.

And in the Year 1633, in the eleventh Month, when I was about Eighteen years of Age, did I take my leave of that Renowned Family. But, O! the Tears that were shed among us at our parting. Oh the Prayers and Intercessions that were made to the Lord. And what deep Impression our parting had upon our Hearts, who can declare the same? So

His Reward was with him.

His Reward was with him.

His Reward was with him.

Ann. 1633

Their  
Love be-  
came ma-  
nifest.

The Bre-  
thren  
owned his  
Call and  
Motion.

His Ser-  
vice at  
Welling-  
brough.

At Nor-  
wich.

exceedingly were we United and bound up together, that it was very hard for us to part one with another. Howbeit, when we considered upon what Account it was, and that notwithstanding our then *external* parting, we should enjoy one another in the Lord, &c. then could we give up to the Will of the Lord so much the better in the things; and then according to the Will of the Lord, in his Name and Power, I set my face Southwards, and visited Friends in Lancashire, and in some part of Yorkshire and Darbyshire, which Counties I passed thro into Warwickshire, to a place called Badgley, where I met with many of the Brethren, who did dearly own the power and the motion of it, by which I was drawn forth into that glorious Work, and being very sweetly refreshed together, and confirmed in the Faith and Power of God, and encouraged to go on in that glorious and honourable Service, I took my leave of them, and went on in the Name and power of the Lord towards Norwich in Norfolk (being accompanied with another Friend) and coming to Wellingbrough in Northamptonshire, we found several there newly Convinced of the Lord's Truth, with whom we were much refreshed.

And being thereupon the first day of the Week, it was upon me to go to their Steeple-house, where I had some Liberty (and but little) to declare the everlasting Truth of God. And after that I returned to the Meeting of Friends, where the power and presence of the Lord God was with us; so that a very sweet, comfortable, and refreshing Meeting we had. Howbeit, that day I and my Companion was Apprehended, and kept that night in Custody; but the next day as Providence ordered it (while the Priest and some with him (as we were informed) were gone to get a Warrant to bring us before a Justice) we were by a certain Officer released.

After that we Travelled towards Cambridge, where we had a very good opportunity to visit Friends; which having done, we passed on our Journey towards Norwich: And it being in the depth of Winter, and we travelling altogether on foot, it was something hard to the outward man; but the Lord was with us, and his mighty power that upheld us, and carried us thro all, and thro Mercy we got finally well to Norwich, where there were several of our North Country Friends in Prison, whom

whom we visited, and with whom we were sweetly Refreshed.

And in the City we had a very large Meeting, unto which many People resorted, and the Lord was with me, and gave me a Mouth and Wisdom, *freely and powerfully* to declare his *Living Truth*: and at that time we were also in much jeopardy of being taken, but at that time the Lord preserved us out of the Hands of unreasonable men.

And at that City my Companion left me and returned towards the North, and after I had visited *Friends and the Brethren* there, I went into the Country and had very good Service for the Lord; and in a short time after I went to London, where I was very kindly received by Friends there, and we were refreshed together in the Lord.

And not long after came several of the Brethren to the City out of the North, and other parts, and the mighty power of the Lord God was with us, and very much we were exercised; sometimes in *Steeple-houses*, and sometimes in the Meetings of *Separatists*: for upon one First-day I was at two of their *Steeple-houses* in the Fore-part of the day, and at one of them I had large liberty to speak; and in the Afternoon I was at a Meeting of *Professors*, where there were six that spoke one after another; and afterwards I had liberty to speak freely among them without opposition or contradiction from any of them, and afterwards departed in peace.

And about that time, *The Word of the Lord* grew mightily in that City, and many were added to the Faith; and many *Steeple-houses*, and the most of Meetings in the City were visited by some of the Brethren; for at one time there was Ten or Twelve of us (the *Ministring Brethren*) in the City that were most of us come out of the North, even plain, honest, upright men, such as the Lord was pleased to make use of in that day, and very diligent we were in his Work night and day, labouring faithfully so much as in us lay, to exalt his Name over all, and to make his Truth and Salvation known even unto all.

Many Meetings we had about that time in the City, and much I began to experience of the Faithfulness of the Lord to me, who furnished me according to necessity, and was pleased

led to give that which was suitable to the condition of the People unto whom I was to communicate it.

*Job. Stubbs* About that time I met with my dear Brother *John Stubbs*, who was also come up to London out of the North, and tho at that time we had little outward Knowledge one of another, yet Providence did so order it, that we became Companions and *Fellow Travellers* together: And it was upon us to go into the Country, partly towards *Oxbridge*; and at a certain place within few Miles of *Oxbridge*, we had very good Service both in the *Steeple-House*, and also at a Meeting, which was ordered upon our coming to that place, and the Lord was with us, in whom we were strong, and our word powerful, tho in our own eye we were weak, and contemptible in the eyes of many.

And the Priest being moved with Envy, did stir up the People against us, so that thro his means we were apprehended, and carried before a Justice, but he being a moderate man, reasoned moderately with us, and perceived our Innocency, discharged us. Afterwards we returned to London again with Joy and Rejoycing, when we saw how the Lord had been with us, and how eminently he had appeared (thro us weak and contemptible Vessels) which we made known to the Brethren at our return, who when they understood it, rejoyced with us.

## CHAPTER VI

*John Stubbs* and he went first into Kent, how the Gospel was preached by them at Dover, Foulstone, and Hild, as also at Rummey and Lid, both to Professors and Profane, and how many believed and were Convinced.

*Ann. 1655.*

Sometime after we stayed in the City where we had enjoyed good Service for the Lord. And afterwards it was upon us to go into Kent towards Dover, which accordingly we did (upon the 13th day of the first Month, 1655) in much weakness and Fear, we being but Young in the Truth, and hearing of such Wise professing men in that Part, which we were to Encounter withal, howbeit in the Faith we went on, having Confidence in God, who had been with us, and who was with us.

And

And in due time we got to *Dover*, where we were as Pilgrims and Strangers, not knowing the Face of any in the Town. And after we had walked a while in the Streets, (being very much prest and burchoned in our Sprays) we took up our Lodging at an *Inn* or *Alehouse*, where we had been but one Night, until the *Mayor* came to us, (having heard something of such men being in Town,) and he examined us, and it being on a first-day in the Morning, he would have had us secured for that day, but having nothing against us, he could not well bring his purpose to pass.

And after he left us, it was upon me to go to the *Steeple-House*, where I had but little Liberty to Speak until I was haled out, but in the Yard I had some more Liberty to clear my Conscience to the people.

And as for my dear Companion *J. S.* he was at the same time at the Meeting of the *Anabaptists* (so called.) And in the after part of the day, he was at the other *Steeple-House*, and I was moved to go up to the *Castle* to the Meeting of the *Independants* (so called,) so that by that days Service the Report went not only through the Town, but also into the Country of us, and the Truth which we bore Testimony of.

And shortly after we had Liberty to have a Meeting in the *Baptists Meeting-place*, unto which many people resorted, and the Lord was with us, and gave us a Mouth and Wisdom, not only powerfully to declare, but also zealously to contend for the everlasting Truth, which was then much opposed and gain-sayed both by *Professors* and *Prophane*: howbeit, some began to adhere unto it, and to be affected with it, and then did the Enmity begin to work in the hearts of People against us: And we were haled before the Magistrates, who examined us, and did we much means to get the Town cleared of us, and did therefore order that none should entertain us upon a certain Penalty (as *Italy* it) whereupon we were turned out of our Lodging, but then had the Lord raised up one *Luke Howard*, (a *Shoemaker*;) who was become so loving to us, and so bold and valiant, that he undertook to Entertain us in his House, notwithstanding their Order, where we abode several days, and had afterwards 2 Meeting or Meetings in his House, and several at that time came to be Convinced of the

Their first coming to *Dover*.

They were haled before the

They were haled before the

Magistrates

and

L. H.

Nobility,

Truth,



Truth, whom we Commended to the Grace of God and left them.

They went And after that we went from thence to a Town called *Foul-  
some*, where we were kindly received by one *Thomas Nicoles*, his Wife and others, and some good Meetings we had there; the Priest of the Town and many others being present at some of them, and the witness of God was truly reached in some, and some were convinced of the Truth, and received it in the Love of it.

I was also at their *Steeple-House*, but uncivilly treated there; and but suffered to speak little, until I was turned out violently by a debauch'd Fellow, but some that were simple and moderate were troubled thereat.

Their Service in the way to *Hide* and at the Town.

And when we were pretty clear of that Town, we Travelled towards *Hide*, and in our way thither we went into a *Castle* which stood by the *Sea-side*, where we were kindly received both by the *Captain* and his Wife, and there we had a Meeting or two among the *Souldiers* and others, and after that we went to the aforesaid *Hide*: And it was upon us to go to their publick Place of Worship, even as we did, but soon after one of us began to speak, we were violently haled out, but preserved through the hand of the *Lord*, from being much harmed by the rude Multitude.

And it was much noted, how that he that was the violentest against us, had afterwards in a short time, some remarkable Judgment which beset him, of which many took Notice.

In that Town the *Baptists* allowed us the use of their Meeting-Room, and at the first were pretty moderate and civil to us, but afterwards became (or some of them) our great Opposers, howbeit some there were in that place also which believed and received our Testimony.

What good Service they had at *Rumney* and *Lid*.

Then we went from that Town further into the Country, and were at *Rumney* and *Lid*, where there were many high Professors, and among the rest one *Samuel Kisher* (a very Eminent and able Pastor among the *Baptists*) and it was upon me to go to the Meeting of the *Independants*, and upon my dear Brother, to go to the Meeting of the *Baptists* where he had good Liberty, the aforesaid *S. F.* being then speaking among them,



them, who (as it appeared) was so much affected with *John's* Doctrine, that after *John* had done, *Samuel* begun with his wisdom to paraphrase upon it with excellency of Speech, thereby to set it forth in his apprehension beyond what *John* had done, but at the Meeting where *I* was, they would scarce allow me any Liberty to clear my Conscience among them.

After that we had Meetings in both places, and being one time at a Meeting in the Street at *Lid* (for the Friends House would not contain the Multitude,) The Magistrates or some of them sent to the aforesaid *Samuel Fisker*, (who was also present at the Meeting,) to tell him that we might have the *Church-Door*, (as they called it) opened to go in thither, but we refused to accept of it, and chused rather to continue our Meeting in the Street.

And the aforesaid *S. F.* believes our report, with several *S. Fisker* more in them two Towns, who were Convinced of the Truth of God, which had not in them Parts been declared by any Friend before.

## CH A P. VII.

*What gallant Service they had in the Country, especially about Crambrooke and Stapleherst: how Meetings came to be settled in them Parts: Their good Service and great Suffering at Maidstone; Their Tryals afterwards, and their narrow escape out of the hands of their Persecutors.*

**W**E were also up in the Country about *Ashford* and *Tenderden*, we had great Meetings, and strong Contests by Professours, who did more then a little oppose us, especially in them two Towns; howbeit some we found that were simple and tender-hearted, in most places where we got Meetings. We were also at *Crambrooke* and *Stapleherst*, where we found a very open people, that were very ready to receive, and to Imbrace the Everlasting Truth, which we freely and powerfully (according to our Measures received) administered unto them, in the power and Demonstration of the *Eternal Spirit*, and several large and pretious Meetings we had among

*Ann. 1655.*  
What opposition they had.

among them, and the Power and Presence of the Lord God was much with us, in which we rejoyced together, *freely distributing of the word of Life unto them, which at that time Dwelt richly and plentionly in our hearts, and as we had received it freely, so we did dispence the same freely.*

For tho there were them that would have given us both Gold and Money which some would even have forced upon us, yet we had not freedom to receive one Penny of them, for we told them it was not *theirs but them which were sought*; and many were *Convinced and much affected with the Truth, which with joy and gladness they received.* And among them, as at other places, we sought to settle and establish Meetings, and to bring them that were *Convinced to wait upon the Lord in silence, in that Light of Life in themselves, which we turned them unto, to the end that they might enjoy the substance of what they had professed.* And accordingly Meetings came to be settled in most of the places before mentioned, which they that were *Convinced* kept after our departure.

After that, we were moved to go to a great Town called *Maidstone*, and it being on a *first day of the Week*, we were in the fore part of the Day at a Meeting of the People called *Baptists* in the Country, and after we had declared the way of Salvation among them, we left them and went to the Town aforesaid. And when we came there, it was upon my dear Brother J. S. to go to their publick place of Worship, and it was upon me to go to the *Meeting of the Independants*, which accordingly we did, and John he was taken at their *Steeple-House*, and I the day following from my Inn, and were both sent to the *House of Correction* (so called) where we were searched, and had our Money, and our *Ink-horns*, and Bible, &c. taken from us, and afterwards we were *Stripped*, and had our *Necks and Arms put in the Stocks*, and in that Condition were *desperately whipped*; and afterwards had *Irons and great Clogs of wood laid upon us*, and in that Condition they would have Compelled us to have wrought, saying, *he that would not work should not Eat, &c.* And forasmuch as they had *dealt so wickedly with us*, and that without any *Just Cause*, neither could they justly charge us with the *breach of any Law*. We were not free to Consent so far unto their *Cruel wills* as to do their work; and there

It was not  
Gold nor  
Money.  
which  
they sought

Their Per-  
secutors  
great Cru-  
elty against  
them at  
Maidstone.

therefore did they keep us without *Vittuals* for some days, only a little *Water* once a day we had allowed us. (And it is to be noted, how that he that *Committed us*, and was the Chief agent in *Cruelty against us*, was a *Noted Presbyterian*.) And though the *Malefactors* that were there, would have given us of their Bread, yea the *Women* of the *House* being moved with *Compassion* towards us, would have given us something privately, but we were not free at that time to accept of either of both, until that they (by whose *Order* *Provision* was kept from us,) did give consent that it should be brought in to us, which finally he or they did, when that many in the *Town* began to be offended at their *Cruelty*, which they manifested towards us: and when they were made to bow by the power of *God*, (who sought to bow us to their wills,) we were free to receive *Vittuals* for our Money, and did Eat and were refreshed. Truth got dominion.

The next day following, (after their *Cruelty* seemed to be abated,) they sent an *Officer*, who did make *Restitution* of some of our things again which they had taken from us, but Burned several good *wholesome Prayers*, and afterwards they parted us, and with *Officers* Conveyed us out of the *Town*, one at the one end of it, and the other at the other, which was no small *Trial* to us to be so separated. And afterwards we were Conveyed from one *Officer* to another in the *Country*, and after that manner sent us towards our *Habitations* in the *North*: But when I had been in the hands of about *Twelve* of them, they began to grow careless of their *Order*, and finally suffered me to *Travel* alone, which accordingly I did towards *London*.

And the day following I got well up to *London*, where I was more then a little refreshed with the *Brethren*, and there I met with my *Dear Companion J. S.* again to our great refreshment. And behold it came presently upon us to return to the *Town* again, and to return again into that *Country* which was no small *Trial* to us; however to the will of the *Lord* we gave up, and returned again within two or three days. A great Trial.

And when our *Grand Persecutor* at *Maidstone* heard of our return again, he sent a *Hue and Cry* after us, and it being gotten Eight Miles into the *Country*, the *Officers* came into a *Friends House* where we had Lodged, but were then at another place:

place: And it being on a *first Day* in the Morning we went to their *Steeple House*, but the Officer was not then there, *so providence did so order it at that time we were preserved out of their hands*. And afterwards we passed through the Country, Visiting the Brethren that had received the Gospel, who were confirmed in the Faith, and the more through our patient suffering.

Their Service at  
Canterbury.

And we were also at *Canterbury* where we had exceeding good Service, especially among the *Baptists and Independants* so called, for we were at their Meetings and had pretty good liberty to declare the Truth of God amongst them, and some there were that received our Testimony in that place also, who were *Convinced of the Truth*, so that there came to be a Meeting settled there also. We were likewise at *Sandwich* where I had some Service in particular among the *Dutch people there*, at their *Steeple-House*, but at that time the Truth could but get little entrance in that place.

## C H A P. VIII.

*How he went to Calis in France: his return to Dover again: how they determined to go for Holland: how they went from Dover to Yarmouth by Land, and afterwards into the North: and how they Visited Friends there to their refreshment.*

Ann. 1635.

AND upon the 12th. of the 4th. Month, 1635. It was upon me to go over to *Calis in France*, which accordingly I did from *Dover*, and when I came there, and saw the place so much given to *Idolatry*, my Spirit was very much burthened and prest within me: And in the power of the Lord I went to their high place of Worship, where some were Worshipping before their *Dumb-Idols*, and I walked through by them, but could not well ease my self with words to them, because they could not understand me, neither could I then understand their Language, but the Lord afterwards made way for me to ease my Spirit, and to clear my Conscience among some of them.

For after I had been some little time in the Town or City,

it came to be known to some of the Chief of the City, who desired to see me, and to speak with me, and some of them came down in Person to the *Key* to look for me, and understanding I was *aboard*, I was called *ashore*, and was afterwards conveyed thro private places, for fear of the rude Multitude, (as he told me that was appointed to convey me) to a great House, where several of the great ones gathered together, to see me, hear me, and to speak with me. So that I had a very gallant Opportunity to declare the Truth among them. And a certain Scotch Lord (so called) was the Interpreter: And pretious Dominion the Lord was pleased to give me over their vain Lights, frothy Minds, and Spirits, which were very much addicted to Lightness and Vanity.

Whatgood Service he had at Calis.

And when I had had a very gallant Opportunity to clear my Conscience among them, they suffered me to depart in peace. And soon after I was clear and free to return again for England, even as I did, and found my dear Companion I. S. at Dover.

And about that time it was upon John Stubbs to go for Holland, and I was made very free in the Lord to accompany him, however some good Service we had afterwards in the Country, in our return towards Graves-End, and from thence we went to Colchester, and from thence to Tarmouth in Norfolk; and indeed as to the outward we were poor and feeble, yet full of power, and strong in the Lord, howbeit very provident and sparing in our Expences, of which I could say more then here I am free to insert, yet nevertheless the Lord did enable us to Travel day after day, and many a Mile upon a day, notwithstanding our keeping of our Bodies so much under. Neither did we in them days want for Money, of which we might have had much plenty given us, but our hearts being clear and free from Covering of that (as the Lord well knows,) we kept our selves therefore clear and free of it, for as we had received freely, so we were as willing to give freely, and that little which we had the Lord did Sanctify and bless to us, and our Reward we had always with us, in what place or Condition soever we were.

How it was with them in their Travels.

And after we came to Tarmouth, we waited there and in the Country thereabouts, the most part of three weeks for a passage Tarmouth.

How they waited at passage Tarmouth.



passage for *Holland*. And finally an opportunity of a Ship seemed to present, as also of *Wind*: And we got abroad (tho not without some difficulty) in the Roads, which was setting Sail, but presently after the Master came aboard, he perceiving what we were, would not carry us, but forced us ashore again; which disappointment (after we had waited so long) was no small Tryal to us, and when we saw there was little likelihood of our getting passage from thence for *Holland*, we determined to go for the North; and after we had waited some time longer there, we got passage for *Sunderland*, having no small weight upon us, which was the heavier, because it was Reported in the Nation among Friends, That we were gone Over-sea.

How he  
was re-  
freshed at  
*Swarth-*  
*more*.

And when we came into the North, I had much desire in me to go to see my dear and near Relations in the Lord at *Swarthmore* and thereabouts, and Providence did so order it, that I had an opportunity. But, Oh! the refreshment which we had at our Meeting, and during the time I stayed among them, it would be hard for me to declare it to the utmost: And dear M. F. (who had been as a tender-hearted nursing Mother unto me) was more than a little refreshed to hear how the Lord had been with me, how he had blessed my Labours, and prospered his work in my hand; for all which mercies, together with many more, We returned unto the Lord his praise, his due, and with joyful hearts offer'd unto him, the Sacrifice of Praise and of Thanksgiving.

What  
good  
Meetings  
they had  
in *Bishop-*  
*rick*.

And when I had stayed some little time there (in which I was refreshed both in Soul and Body) it was upon me to return again, to endeavour to accomplish the aforesaid intended Journey to *Holland*: And when the time of my departure was come, I took my leave of them, with much brokenness of heart, in which I also left them, and visiting other Friends, I returned again into the Bishoprick, where I had left my dear Companion. And afterwards we had some precious Meetings together in them parts, (which together with them we had had before) were of no small service: and being pretty clear of them parts, we sought again to find out an opportunity for *Holland*.



## C A A P. IX.

*How they got finally to Flushing in Zealand; and went from thence to Middlebrough; what Service they had there. How they went to Rotterdam in Holland, and afterwards returned for England again: and he finally to Swarthmore.*

**A**Nd coming to the *Shields*, we heard of a Ship that was intended for *Flanders*, which tho it was in the King of *Spains* Dominion, and pretty wide from *Holland*, yet we were willing to go along with her, hoping to get passage from thence, so going aboard of the aforesaid Ship, we got finally thro mercy to *Tarmouth* Roads again, where we found another Ship, that was intended for *Flushing* in *Zealand*, which being nearer unto *Holland* than *Flanders*, we Embarked our selves in her, and in due time, thro the mercy of the Lord, did we arrive well at *Flushing*, where we came among a People of a strange Language, among whom we had but been a little time until our Spirit was stirred within us by the power of the Lord, through which we were moved, to Proclaim his mighty day, and to publish his Eternal Truth, in and through their Streets, whether they could understand or no, which we did and his power and presence was with us: and at that time, no man laid hands upon us, so after we had unburthened our Spirits, by easing them of the weight that was upon them, through obeying the Lord, we returned to our Lodging again.

Ann. 1655.

How they Spoke in the Streets at *Flushing*.

And when the first day of the Week came, it was upon us to go to the Congregation of the *English* and *Scotch*, which accordingly we did, and when we came there many gazed upon us and wondered at us, because of our Non-Conformity to them. But after we begun to Speak they were much stirred, some with Fury and Rage, and others with Admiration; but withal, they would not suffer us to Speak much, but hurried us out with great Indignation, and some Violence was offered to us, howbeit the Lord preserved us so that we received but little harm from them, blessed be his Name for ever more.

What further Service they had there.

The same day we went to another great City called *Middlebrough*,

Andat Mid-  
diebrough.

brough, and got thither before their Afternoons Devotion was ended; and when we came there, it was upon us to go to the Meeting place, where the *English and Scotch did meet*, where we waited until the Priest had done, and afterwards one of us begun to Speak, but the Priest would not suffer us, Imagining at the first, (before he understood us well,) that we had come a Begging to the Congregation, but when he perceived the Contrary, he and others were so much the more against us, and some especially were very violent against us, and did beat me much, and indeed *had not the Lord been with us, and preserved us through his mighty power*, they might have done us much Mischief, *but blessed be the Lord who was our keeper and preserver.*

How it was  
with them  
at Rotter-  
dam.

After that the Priest sent for us to his House, and reasoned a while with us, but he was of such a *lofty and ambitious Spirit*, (*as many of that Generation are,*) that the Truth could have little Entrance in him, or Entertainment from him; and after we had had other good Service in the City, and was become pretty clear of it, we Imbarqued our selves for *Rotterdam in Holland*, where (after some difficulty and hardship sustained) we Arrived *through the mercy of the Lord*, but did not know the Face of any in that City, and when we had but been some few days in the City, it was known to several, and after some time we got a Meeting at an *English Merchants-House*, unto which many *Merchants* (especially) came, both *Dutch and English*; but Oh! Alas how did we suffer for want of a good *Interpreter*; for he that *Interpreted* for us, not being true and faithful, as to *Interpret* our words according as we Spoke them, but sometimes (its like) otherwise; the Hearers or some of them especially, came rather to be incensed against us, than to be won or gained to the Truth, howbeit, the *witness of God answered to the Truth of our Testimony in some.*

But forasmuch as there had been no *Friend before to declare the Truth among them in that City*, it was therefore looked upon as so much the stranger thing, and we were so much the more wondered at, but in due time, we had cleared our Consciences, and born a faithful Testimony unto Gods Truth in that place, we departed thence and returned again for *Zealand*, where we took Shipping for *England* again. And

And after we had waited some certain time for the Wind, <sup>What</sup> we had an opportunity, but met with a very sore Storm at <sup>Storms</sup> Sea, howbeit the Lord preserved us, and we got well to <sup>they did</sup> *Bur-* <sup>meet with</sup> *lington* in *Yorkshire*, but was not permitted to go into the Town, <sup>all by Sea.</sup> because we were come from *Holland* where (it was said) the <sup>illage</sup> *Sickness* then was; nevertheless we saw our Friends, and were refreshed in seeing one another.

And soon after we set Sail again, and when we came near *Hartlepoole* (the Wind blowing very hard) we lost our Foremast, and was in some apparent danger, But the Lord was pleased to preserve us then also, and to assuage the violence of the boisterous Waves thro his mighty power, in which we put our Confidence.

And when thro mercy we were gotten well ashore, we went up into the Country too among Friends, with whom we were more than a little refreshed in the Lord. And after I had had several Meetings in the *Bishoprick*, I went again into *Lancashire*, and coming to *Swarthmore*, I was received with joy again in the Lord, in whom our refreshment was very great, and a very precious time we had afterwards together, whereby my very life was much refreshed, And therefore did my Soul magnifie the Lord, with the rest of his Lambs and Babes in that place.

**C H A P. X.** How he was moved to go for Scotland: what good Service he and his Companion had at Berwick: How they travelled from thence to Edinbrough: how they parted there; what extraordinary great Service he had afterwards in that City. How he was again at *Stirling*, *Glasco*, and *Douglas*, and afterwards returned to England.

**A**Nd it was not long till I took my leave of that blessed Family, for I was to go for Scotland, towards which Nation (we had felt some drawings before we were clear of that Service beyond the Sea; and having taken my leave in abundance of Love of my dearly beloved Friends at *Swarthmore*, I went thro *Wales*, and had some good Meetings among Friends.

Friends there; which at that time was of good Service. And upon the 12th of the 9th Month, 1655. I went to wards the *Bishoprick*, in order to my going into *Scotland*; and when I came into the *Bishoprick*, I met with my dear Companion *John Smyth* again, and when we had visited the Brethren and Friends in those parts, and had been truly refreshed together in the Lord, we went afterwards into *Northumberland*; in some part of which we had very good Service, especially in the Country about *Morpeth*. And about the beginning of the 10th Month, 1655, we were at *Berwick*, and upon the Market day, it was upon us to go into their Market, where we had some good Service. And upon the first day following, I was

What great Service they had at *Berwick*.

moved to go into their great Assembly, where none of our Friends had been, but such as had been imprisoned; and afterwards put out of the Town. Nevertheless, I was not deterred to be discouraged, but went in boldly in the Name and power of the Lord. And when the Priest had done, I stood up upon a Stall, and none seemed to make such haste to get away as the Priest; however, my mouth was opened in much power, and the Lord was pleased to give me much Courage and Boldness, and indifferent good Liberty. I had to declare the Truth. And when I had done, the Mayor met me at the door, and took me by the hand, and delivered me to the Sergeants; but afterwards I was brought before the Mayor and Magistrates, and further examined by them, who finally ordered that I should be turned out of the Town, which also came to pass.

He was put out of the Town.

And in the Afternoon I was at a *Steeple House* in the County, where I spoke to the Priest, but he was furious, and called me *Mad Man*; and bid the people have me to the *Steeple*, and bind me hand and foot, with more such like expressions, but none of the People would obey him, but gathered pretty generally about me, and were pretty willing to hear what I said; declared, that they were a foolish ignorant People. And afterwards I could not well get any Lodging among them for my Money. And in the interim (when I was wandering up and down, as one destitute of a place to lay my head, or to rest and refresh my self in) there came a man out of *Berwick*, for me, and I went along with him, until the Guild offered me to go very freely into the Town again, where I met with my dear Companion *John Smyth* again,

Suffered to return again.

againy who had also been in great Service that day, in the Forenoon among the *Epists*, and in the Afternoon of that day, he did supply the Meeting which we had appointed; so that day we had exceeding good Service, and stayed afterwards some few daies in that Town, and had another Meeting or two there.

And afterwards we Travelled from thence into Scotland, towards *Edinburgh*, and tho our Travels were great, and our Sufferings many (both in the inward and outward man) yet the Lord by his mighty power supported us, and carried us through them all. And that which made them the easier to us, and made us the more capable to dispense with them, was the extraordinary Love and Unity in which the Lord preserved us, inasmuch that I do believe scarce any of the Brethren, that Travelled abroad upon the same Honourable Account, ever agreed better than we did, or were more mutual in their Service, and in other things incident to Travellers than we, and therefore were our Travels and Sufferings so much the more easie to us, I thank that blessed us, and with the right hand of his Righteousness supported us, and will be Glory, Honour and Dominion for ever and ever.

And when we came at *Edinburgh*, we found things somewhat out of order there, thro the unsatisfisfines of some that were Convinced of the Truth, but did not under their Conversation aright, neither did they Live as became the Gospel, which we endeavoured to rectifie among them, so much as was possible, and the Word of the Lord was effectual thro us among them, to the bringing of them into better order.

And after we had been some certain time together in that City, it was upon my dear Brother to go to some other places, as to *Burns-Island*, to *Ayr*, &c. and afterwards to return to *England* again: And there we parted in the fulness of indeared Love, with much brokenness of Hearts. And after we parted I stayed several Weeks in that City, being accompanied with another dear Brother *John Slee* by name. And many gallant Meetings we had in this City, especially upon the *Castle-Hill*, where many hundreds heard the Truth of God in much power and plainness, and often was the Witness of God reaped in many, and many were made to confess unto the Truth, so

How Love and Unity will make Sufferings easie.

How they parted.



Great Ser-  
vice at  
Edinbrough

that extraordinary good Service we had for this Lord; for we did not only keep our Meetings upon the aforesaid publique place; but also we had often Meetings at one William Osbornes, who formerly had been a Lieutenant Colonel; but was then become very zealous for the Lords Truth.

And upon one time especially it was upon me to go to their High place of Worship (the Church in the City) which accordingly I did, and after the Priest had done I spoke to the People; but was not suffered to speak much, until I was carried out with the press of the Multitude; which was indeed extraordinary great. And when I came out in the Street, there was a Guard of Souldiers set in readines to secure me from the Multitude, and to Conduct me to the place where I desired to be, which accordingly with their drawn Swords they did, and after that I went in peace to the Meeting of Friends.

How I was  
with him  
at Starling.

I was also about that time with General Monck (so called) and then he was seemingly moderate, and did hear me, and received such Papers from me, as I had to deliver to him.

How it  
was with  
him at  
Starling.

I was also at Starling in Scotland, and at my going into the City, was carried to the Main Guard, and from thence I was sent to the Governour, who at first was high with me, but when I had spoke a little to him, and had given him something to Read he became more moderate, and I went from his House to the English Chaplains House, who was very moderate and kind in his way towards me; and after I had had good Service among them, I went to Glascoe another great City, and it was upon me to go to their Great Cathedral, where three Congregations did meet at once. And after they had all done, I had some Liberty to speak to the Multitude in the Yard, for the rude People were kept very much under by the English Souldiers, who were pretty moderate towards me; so that very good Service I had at that time in that City.

At Glasco.

And at  
Douglas.

I was at another place called Douglas, where I had exceeding good Service, both in the Steeple-house and elsewhere, but the Priest caused me to be turned out of my Lodging, and did what he could to hinder me from having any entertainment in the Town; but some that lived a little from the Town, were willing to receive me into their House.

Thus

Thus after I had had such exceeding good Service both in the City of Edinborough, and at the places aforementioned, I was pretty free to return again to England, which accordingly I did.

**C A A P. XI**

How he visited Friends in the Bishoprick and Westmorland. What good Service he and another Brother had in Lancashire and Cheshire. How they were Imprisoned and Discharged. How he was in Leicestershire, and Cumberland, and returned again into Scotland.

**A**ND when I came back into England, I visited Friends in my return both in Northumberland and in the Bishoprick, and had some good Service among them, especially in the Bishoprick, and afterwards I visited Friends again in Westmorland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore, where I was received as formerly, even in the fulness of dear and precious Love, and I found the power and the presence of the Lord with them as formerly, and therefore was our refreshment together again as it was wont to be. And I could truly say, It was good to be there, but the Lord having much Service for me abroad elsewhere, I could not stay long there, until I was constrained to travel again in the Work and Service of the Lord.

How he was received and refreshed at Swarthmore.

For, About the middle of the first Month, Anno 1644, it was upon me, and another Dear Brother called William Simpson to go down into Lancashire and Cheshire, &c. to visit Friends, which accordingly we did; and many precious and serviceable Meetings we had, and the Lords heavenly power and presence was much with us, and very good Service we had both at Warrington and Manchester; and I was at the great Independent Congregation at Stoward; but Eaton their great Pastor caused them presently to take me away, so that I had very little Liberty among them. Afterwards I went to the Meeting at Manchester, and my Companion he was moved to go to the Steeple-house, but had but little Liberty to speak, for he was taken thence, and was turned out of the Town; as he had been twice the day before;

A. 1644.

fore: but that Night he come in again, and we had a good Meeting in the Town, as I had had the Night before at *Stopard*. And the next day many People followed us, thro' *William's* speaking to the end of the Town; and there I had a gallant opportunity to declare Gods Truth among them, and to them, which with pretty much moderation and attention they heard.

How they  
laboured  
night and  
day in the  
Gospel.

And upon the third day following, we had a Meeting at a place called *Sunderland*, and upon the fourth day another Meeting four Miles from thence, and upon the fifth day, we had a gallant General Meeting within four Miles off *Norwich*; Yea, Night and Day we laboured in the Word and Vineyard of our heavenly Father, and our reward was with us.

But it happened that we were put in Prison at a place called *Congerton* in *Cheshire*; howbeit, we did but remain there in Prison some few daies, until Providence did order it, that we were again released. Time would fail me to relate particularly the extraordinary good Service which we had at that time in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and at *Leek* in *Staffordshire*; sometimes in *Steeple-houses*, sometimes in *Streets* and *Markets*, and night and day frequently in Meetings; and in due time we were made free in the Lord, to return again after we had spent several weeks as aforesaid, and always when I returned unto *Swarthmore* it was to me a place of refreshment.

and with  
about 150  
laboured  
hardly  
about 20  
times

And about that time (as I remember) I took a Journey into *Leicestershire* to a great general Meeting which was appointed, unto which many of the Brethren resorted, and among the rest there was dear G. F. whom I much desired to see; and a very gallant and pretious Meeting there was, and afterwards I had some pretious time with the Brethren, and took my leave of them, and returned again into *Lancashire*.

But I had not been long there, until it was upon me to go into *Chumberland* and *Scotland* again; whereupon I took my leave of Friends in thern parts, and went towards *Chumberland*: And on the 4th. day of the 3d. Month, 1656. I was at a Meeting at *Amblehead* close by the Chapel, and several of the people was with us after the Priest had done: And in the Afternoon I was moved to go into the Chapel among them, but they were exceeding violent against me, and seemed to stir much after my blood, for they fell upon me, as if they

His Ser-  
vice at  
*Amble-  
head*.

would have torn me to pieces, but their power was limited, and I preserved in the Arms of the Lord, and indued with much Courage and Boldness, to declare the everlasting Truth among them.

Afterwards I went into Cumberland, where I had several good and precious Meetings among Friends, to the Confirming of them in the Truth, and to my great refreshment in the Lord. And when I had visited Friends in that County, I took my leave of them there, and went from thence to Scotland again, being accompanied by a dear Brother called John Grave. And we travelled towards *Dunblane* where we visited them few Friends that were Convinced, and had a Meeting in the *Steeple-House*, where many heard the Truth declared in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, especially in the Priests absence, but when he was at his Devotion many of them left us. It was also in the *Steeple-House* when the Priest was Catechising his Hearers, and sometime when they could not Answer him I was ready to reply, and withal gave him some Queries to answer. And sometime he said he would answer them, and sometime he said he would not, but finally he broke out into a very great Rage and Passion, and caused the people to turn me out of my Lodging, and its possible would have done much more, if he had had power in his hands.

His Service at  
Dunblane.

We travelled from thence to *Edinburgh*, where we had several good Meetings, as also at *Leith* and that openly upon the Street, and many resorted to them, both of the English that were then in that Country, and also of the Natives. So that many precious opportunities we had to declare the Everlasting Truth of God freely and powerfully among them, which accordingly we did. And about the time it was now well in Body having oppressed it with force I saw that I had a great deal to say for I was again to a pretty short time in the Service of the Lord. And when we were pretty near of *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, we travelled towards *Stirling* City, but when we came there, the people were so incensed against us, that we had very much to do, to get Lodging for our Money, which finally our Soldiers procured for us.

At Edinburgh and  
Leith.

## C H A P. XII.

*What great Service he and his Companion had at Starling, Glascoe, and Ayre; Their return again to England. His Service afterwards in the North. His Journey into the West, and what Service he had there.*

Ann. 1656.

**A**Nd when the first day of the week came, it was upon us to go to their great Steeple-House, which accordingly we did, and being there at the very time, when the Priest was going about to Swear some of them upon some occasion, I was moved to Speak, and tell them, *how that Christ (the head of the Church)* said, *Swear not at all, but little more they would suffer us to speak in that place.* And afterwards we were carried before the Governour who was pretty high against us, and would even then have forced us out of the City, howbeit he was then prevented, *for the Lord had a very considerable Service for us in the afterpart of the day,* for then we had appointed a Meeting upon a certain Green, near the Steeple-House unto which a great Concourse of people resorted, and a very gallant, precious, and serviceable Meeting we had, *for the Lord was pleased to give us his word plentifully to Communicate to the people, freely and powerfully and his presence was with us,* and his living Witness was reached in many which testified unto the Truth of what we declared, and little further opposition did we meet withal at that time, yet some of the people were so envious, and others fearful, that many of them durst not entertain us, neither could we well get Lodging in the City that Night, so that we went out into the Country, and not without difficulty could we get Lodging there, for the Scots were prejudiced against the English, and they looking upon us, as if we had been some stragling Souldiers, were therefore the more afraid of us; yet providence did to order it, that we got well through the Country to Glascoe.

At Starling-

At Glascoe.

And when we came there, we found the Governour (one Colonel Ashfield) a very moderate man, and he sent for me to his House,



House, and reasoned very moderately with me, as also his Wife, (who is since convinced of the Truth, and he very loving to Friends,) his Chaplain was also friendly to us. And when the first day of the week came, it was upon us to go to one of their Steeple Houses which accordingly we did, and when the Priest had done, I begun to speak to the people, but the Drums did beat, whereby the Souldiers were called away, and as for the Scots they could not endure sound Doctrine, but turned away their Ears from hearing the Truth. At that City I was carried to the Main-Guard, where I had exceeding good Service among the Souldiers, who were very civil towards me, and in due time suffered me to depart in peace to my Lodging.

And when we had had very good Service in that City, and was pretty clear and free of it, it was upon me to go to another noted place called Ayre in the West of Scotland, and it was upon my dear Companion Jo. Grave to go to another place, so that we parted for a season, which was not a little Tryal to us in that dark and barbarous Country. And in due time I got to the aforesaid Ayre, and it was upon me to go to their Steeple House there also, where I had pretty good Liberty, there being many Souldiers, and through their Civility, I was civilly intreated among them.

And after that I was clear of that place and the rest: According to the will of God in due time I set my Face again towards England, and travelled many a Mile alone in that barren and rude Country, howbeit the Lord was with me, and through his mighty power I was not only preserved out of the hands of unreasonable men, but also through his mercy, from the Sin and evil which abounded among them people, for which, my Soul hath cause to bless and magnify the name of the Lord, while I have a being.

In due time afterwards I met with my dear Companion in my return to England to both our refreshment, and then with cheerfulness (after we were clear of that Country) did we return to England again: And when we got into Cumberland in Cumberland very large and precious Meetings we had, even as we had had before our going into Scotland, and Friends were strengthened and confirmed in the precious Truth, which in them days did

flourish and prosper very much, and the Lords power and presence was with us, through which we were carried on in his work and service, in which our Souls delighted to be exercised. And when I had had such exceeding good Service in Cumberland, I did afterwards visit Friends in Westmoreland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore again, where I was dearly received as in Months past, and after my great Travels, I always found that a place of refreshment to me, both for Soul and Body: however I was not permitted to stay much there, there being such an effectual Door open abroad in the Country; and therefore I was constrained through the Love of God which dwelt richly in my heart, to labour so much the more diligently, for I knew it was good working while it was day. And in the interim when I was at Swarthmore, we had not only many precious Meetings there, but also several abroad in the Country thereabouts, near unto their Steeple-Houses and Chapels in that Country: so that many heard the Truth of God plentifully declared, both of them that believe and of them that perish; and indeed a glorious and precious time we had to make known unto people the way of Salvation, and what the Lord had done for our Souls; and many believed and were converted, and brought to serve and worship the Lord in Spirit and in Truth.

A glorious day.

But I had not been long in them parts, until it was upon me to go towards Bristol, and thence forwards to Laras Cornwell; where upon I took my leave of Friends at Swarthmore in abundance of Love and tenderness (in which we were wont to meet and to part,) and travelled with a dear Companion whose Name was Walter Clement accordingly as it was upon me, and many Brethren and Friends we visited in our Journey to their and our great refreshment, and in due time (through mercy) got well to Bristol, where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, to see how the Truth prospered among them, and what large and gallant Meetings there were both in the City as also in the Country thereabouts, and freely was I moved to communicate of the overflowing of the Life and power which dwelt in me to them; which tended to the comforting and refreshing of many: and after we were refreshed together in the Lord I left them, and went on my Journey West.

At Bristol and thereabouts.

*Westward* (for I was determined to visit some of the Brethren that were in Prison in *Lancaster* *Chapin* *Carmel* &c.) and several Friends I visited as I went (travelling then mostly alone and about also) *But the Lord was with me, and through his goodness I got well to my Journeys end, where I was more than a little refreshed with the Brethren.* I went out also into the Country where I had some very good Service; and afterwards returned to the Prison again, where my refreshment was so much, that my Cup was even made to overflow, there being at that time dear *George Fox*, and several other Friends, Prisoners there: of whom in due time I took my leave, even in the fulness of endeared Love; and returned again out of those Parts.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How he was apprehended at Totnes, and sent through the County with a Pass, how freed and afterwards travelled in the South; and how it was with him in those days.*

**A**Nd about the latter end of the fifth Month, or the beginning of the sixth 1656, I was at *Plymouth* where I visited Friends, and after I had had a Meeting among them, I travelled into the Country; and being refreshed with Friends in *Plymouth* as also in the Country, I came finally to a place called *Totnes* in *Devonshire* where upon my coming into the Town I was apprehended, and carried before the Mayor, who threatened to have the Whip laid upon my Back, (though without cause,) but providence did order it other wise, for others of the Magistrates were more moderate, and when they examined me the Priest was present, and a very gallant opportunity I had, to bear a large and faithful Testimony unto the Truth, which accordingly I did, for indeed the Lord was much with me, and it was given me in that very hour, what I was to speak.

That Night they kept me Prisoner, and the next day they sent me away with a Pass from *Tything-man* to *Tything-man*, or from *Constable* to *Constable*, and thereby I had a gallant opportunity to declare the Truth to people in the Country as I

travell'd. For when I had come into a Town; and was in the Officers hand, many people that heard of it came out of their Houses to see the *Quaker* as I was called, and some were pity tender and loving, and others were otherwise, however freely I did declare the Truth among them as I was moved, and in due time I was freed from that intanglement by a Country-man that would trouble himself no further with me, but gave me the *Pass*, and let me depart in peace.

His refreshment with the Brethren.

Afterwards I got well to *Tanton* in *Somersetshire*, where I visited Friends, as elsewhere in the aforesaid shire, and in due time I got well to *Bristol*, where I found several of the Brethren as *Francis Howgill*, *John Audland*, &c. with whom I was more then a little refreshed, for the Lords presence was with us, and his heavenly power was amongst us, so that we were not only a refreshment one unto another in the Lord, but many were refreshed through us, and we all in the Lord, whom our Souls did magnifie and praise.

And when we had been sweetly refreshed together among Friends at *Bristol*, we went into *Wiltshire*, and were together at a great General Meeting; after which we parted, in abundance of Love and Unity; for I was to go into *Kent*, and they elsewhere.

How he met with F. S. and W. A.

And when I came to a place called *Basingstoke*, there did I happily meet with my dear Brother and former Companion *John Smith*, and another dear Brother called *William Ames* was with him, who had been together in *Holland*; but they being Travelling Westwards, and I Eastwards, we had but little time together; howbeit, in that little time we were together, we were truly refreshed one in another; and afterwards in the ancient brotherly Love, parted again. And I travelled along my Journey, being much as alone, but indeed the Lords heavenly presence was with me; and several good and precious Meetings I had in my Journey to mine and Friends great refreshment in the Lord.

His service in Kent.

And finally thro mercy I came well into *Kent*, where I went from place to place, visited such (especially) as before had received our Testimony; and many precious and large Meetings I had in the County, and the Lord was very much with me, who furnished me plentifully with his word and power,

in-

inasmuch that I stood admiring at sundry times, from whence I had that fulness, and it was not by me only, but by many more, who looking with the eye of reason upon my earthly *Tabernacle*, or *outward man*, could not expect any great thing from me, being then but about twenty years of age, neither ever had I been in much profession, until I was Convinced of the Truth of God, yet plenty of heavenly things the Lord was pleased to open in me, and throw me, to the end that I might Communicate the same to the Multitude, which sometime being great: I was ready to say within my self, *Where shall I have wherewithal to satisfy all these?* And when I looked out at my own weakness and insufficiency as of my self, I was ready to say within my self, but when I looked only at the Lord, and put my confidence entirely in him, I was strong and Courageous.

For the Lord shewed me by his eternal Light upon a time when I was even bemoaning my own weakness, and groaning under the sense of the weight of the burthen of the Service and Work of the Lord; saying, or thinking within my self, *Oh! such and such* (meaning the ablest and wisest of the Brethren) *are so and so fitted and furnished, that they need not care what Service they are called unto; But as for me, I am so simple, I am so weak, and I never have any thing before-hand, neither do scarce ever know when I go into a Meeting of several hundreds, what I shall say or whether any thing or nothing.* And even when I was full of those and such like reasonings. The Lord shewed me (I say) how they that had much had nothing over, and they that had little had no lack, even as it was with the Israelites of Old. For the Brethren that were wise and eminent, who had received much from the Lord, behold there was so much the more required of them: so that of all they had, they had nothing over, but what they were to employ in the Work and Service of God. As for my own part, I, who was so little in my own eyes, and so mean and contemptible in the eyes of others, I had no cause to complain; for tho I was often, that I knew not what I should say when I went into a Meeting; yet even in such a Meeting, hath the Lord been pleased to give me his Word so plentifully, that thro him I was enabled to speak two or three, yea sometimes four hours in a Meet-

Nota.



Meeting with little or no intermission; and often it hath been with me, That as I knew not before the Meeting what I should speak in the Meeting, neither could I well remember after the Meeting what I had spoken in it; and yet had plenty and fulness, tho' I was often dally at Meetings; and not only so, but in the Evenings also; and the Lord he gave fresh supply all waies out of that good Treasury, which affords things both new and old.

Now these things I reherse not for my own praise, but do say, *Not unto me, not unto me* (that have nothing, but what I have receiv'd) *be the praise, but unto the Lord alone*, who is the giver of every good and perfect Gift.

And I can truly say, that which I received from him, I delivered unto his People: And no small Favour, Love, and Esteem, I had from them and among them, so that the Lord (whom I faithfully served) was pleased to give me even what my Heart and Soul desired, and an exceeding glorious day I had of it, and did much rejoyce in the Lord, notwithstanding my great Travels and Sufferings; all which, thro' him, were made easie to me; neither were they much to me, with all the perils and dangers I went thro, both by Sea and Land, in comparlson of the power and presence of the Almighty, which did so sweetly and eminently accompany me in those daies. And after that I had had exceeding good service in *Keta*, and elsewhere in the Country where I had Travelled, I went up to *London*.

A glorious day.

#### CHAP. XIV.

How he was moved to go for Holland. How it was with him in his Journey. And what good Service he had in that Country. How he was in Zealand, imprisoned there; and banished from thence with another Friend.

Ann. 1656.

**A**Bout the beginning of the Seventh Month, 1656, I being at *London*, with several of the Brethren, we had at that time pretty much disturbance in our Meetings in the City, by some troublesome and unruly Spirits, who were gone from  
the

the Truth into extremes; and we suffered by them, yet we were refreshed together in the Lord, and one in another.

And about that time it was upon me to go over for *Holland*, unto which I was given up in the Will of the Lord; howbeit, I was then but weak in body, having gotten a Surfeit thro' Heats and Colds in my Travels; as it was judged; nevertheless I was in readiness (tho' in that weak condition) to take the first opportunity, and very much I desired to have had a Companion along with me, if providence had so ordered it; howbeit, I went finally alone; and did meet with some wicked and uncivil men in the same Vessel in which I went over; some of which did in their Jollity abuse me, but before we got over to *Holland*, we had a pretty fore Storm, and as to outward appearance were in pretty much danger. And at that time great was the fear and anguish that came upon them that were so wicked: And even then did the Lord raise me up (in whom my Faith and Confidence was.) And it was upon me to speak to them in their distress, and then the Witness of God was near and ready to answer to the Truth of what I spoke. And the goodness and mercy of the Lord to me, in that Storm was very great, thro' whose hand we were preserved, and finally (thro' his mercy) brought well to our desired Haven, blessed and magnified be his Name for ever and ever.

And when I Landed at *Dort*, I do not know that I could speak three words of their Language, and so was much press'd in Spirit, and sorely loaden with the weight of iniquity, which fell heavy upon me, and being I wanted an Interpreter, therefore was my burthen the greater. And from *Dort* I sailed to *Rotterdam*, where I found some few that had heard the Truth, and in some measure received it; howbeit, I stay'd not long there neither, for my drawings were pretty much to *Amsterdam*.

And thro' the good hand of the Lord I got finally well thither (where *John Sinbr* and *William Ames* (my dear Brethren) had been before) with another Friend, and very good service they had had among the Professors there. And some had received their Testimony, and the Truth in the Boys of it, and men with goodness and joy of heart received me.

And

How he  
suffered  
for name of  
their Lan-  
guage.

And the Lord made my Service effectual among them for the Establishing and Confirming them in that living Truth, which they had heard and believed. And there were some among them that could understand me, and interpret that which I spoke to the rest, so that very good Service I had among them for that little time I stayed among them, which was not long, till it was upon me to return to *Rotterdam* again. In the mean time, a young man came over from *England* that went with me, who could understand both *English* and *Dutch*; but when I was at *Rotterdam* he left me for a while; and in the mean time, I was much strained for want of an Interpreter; but there being one that could speak some Latin, I spoke sometime in that Language to him, and he did interpret it to the rest. But, Oh my Sufferings at that time was exceeding great in that Country, and that in divers respects; and they were augmented thro some forward and unruly Spirits that were Convinced, but run out into extremes both in Words and Writings, whereby both the Truth, and they that lived in it, came to suffer much. And as for my part, I had fainted thro weakness and Sufferings, had not the Lord by his mighty power upheld and preserved me.

At that time few or none of the Priests Profelytes came at our Meetings, but several high conceited Professors both at *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*; and several of them were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive Instructions from others.

How he  
was at the  
Jews Sy-  
nagogue.

I was also at the Jews Synagogue at *Amsterdam* upon one of their Sabbath daies, and staying most of the time of their Worship, I beheld the manner of it, which was very strange in divers respects; neither would they admit of any Dispute in their Synagogue; but after their Worship was ended, I and another Friend had some pretty good Service with some of them in one of their Houses; but they are a very hard, obstinate, and conceited People in their way. And when I had stayed some time at *Rotterdam*, it was upon me to go to *Zee-land*, which accordingly I did about the latter end of the Eighth Month, 1656, and the aforesaid young man went along with me. And when we had been some daies at *Middlebrough*, the aforesaid young man went to some of their Meet-

Meeting-places in that City and was apprehended, which I finally understanding went to visit him, and they perceiving that I was his Companion, secured me also.

—And afterwards we were very late in the Night Examined, and after our Examination we had three or four Souldiers to Guard us, and a place appointed for us where we might lie. But quickly after we were laid down; we were called up again in great haste, and were carried from thence to the Prison, about the 11th. or 12th. hour at Night, and put us in two distinct places, which caused my sufferings to be the greater, and that the more, because I could speak little or none of their Language. And there I remained some days (being weak in Body,) but in process of time, we were brought before the Council, and were severally Examined, but returned to Prison again.

And it seems they ordered (by what followed,) that we should be sent for *England*, which accordingly we were. For soon after a *Coach Wagon* was brought to the Door, for to carry us to the Water-side, and several Souldiers were also provided to Guard us. For the City seemed to be as in an Up-roar, and the rude Multitude did Rage exceedingly, as they would have torn us to peices, *but the Lord was with us, who was our chief Keeper*, though there were divers others, some in the *Wagon* with us, and some that went on foot along by the *Wagon*. And according to their Order, they brought us on Board of a Ship of War, where we were kept Prisoners, near upon two Weeks, being confined to an open cold Room, and the Men were so hard-hearted towards us, that they would not allow us so much as a bit of Sail Cloth to lie under us, or above us, so for the most part of that time, we lay upon the bare Boards in very Cold Stormy Weather, so that our Sufferings at that time were great, both in the inward and outward man.

The rage of the Multitude at Middlebrough.

But Oh how is the goodness and mercy of the Lord to be admired, for even then, and while I was in Prison, when I was so hardly used, even then I lay, did my strength grow much, and I recovered my health in a great measure again, even to my, and others admiration, and thereby I came to have further experience of the goodness and mercy of our God, for which

How the love and power of God appeared.

my Soul hath cause to bless, praise, and magnify his Name for ever.

## CHAP. XV.

*His Arrival in England. His good Service afterwards for the Lord in the South. His return again for Holland. His Service there, especially at Amsterdam, and how he and W. A. were in Gilderland.*

Ann. 1656.

**A**BOUT the middle of the ninth Month (56) we got well thro' mercy unto England, and about the same time came up to London, but had extraordinary pain in our Feet after we came to lie in warm Beds, having lain so long in cold Weather in our *Stockings* and *Shoes*, but meeting with many of the Brethren there, my refreshment on the other hand was great among them, and in that good Service which (so often as I came to the City) I had in the City.

An abuse.

And when I had been about two weeks in the City, it was upon me to go down into the Country, and when I was travelling alone in *Surry* (near *Rigate*,) a wicked Murtherous Fellow came out of a House, and fell upon me as if he would forthwith have Murthered me, but the Lord delivered me out of his hands, and afterwards I went to the Meeting of Friends that day, and after that I had exceeding good Service in *Sussex*, especially among a people that were called *Seekers*, who were mostly Convinced not far from *Lewes*; I was also at *Stening*, *Arrendal*, *Chichester*, *Portsmouth* and *Souhampton*, at all which places I had exceeding good Service for the Lord; as also at other places both in *Hampshire*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*.

The rudeness of the multitude.

And upon that day called *Shrove-Tuesday*, I had a Meeting at the *Eastside* of *Sussex*, where there had never been any of Friends before, and the rude Multitude came with their Drum Marching up to the House, like men ready for Battle in a desperate manner, as if they would have pulled the House down over our heads, and I was moved to go out to them, and asked them, what they wanted, they said *QUAKERS*, I told



told them I was one. And it was upon me to speak in much plainness to them, as I did, and in much power, and presently their Countenance fell, and fear surprised them, and with shame and confusion they withdrew, not having power to harm any of us, blessed be the Lord, who in them days did eminently appear for us, as often he hath done since, and therefore have we cause to put our Confidence in him to the end. About that time I had much excellent good Service for the Lord in those parts, and in due time, when I was free of the same I returned again to London.

But I had not stayed long there, until it was upon me to return again for Holland, howbeit some very good Service I had in it, and in some part of Surry, in the interim before I was perfectly clear and ready to take Shipping, for about that time there was an effectual Door open in and about the City, and many of the Brethren were there, and a very precious opportunity we had together, to all our refreshment in the Lord.

And in due time way was made for my going over, accordingly as it was upon me, and in the fulness of dear and precious Love, I took my leave of Friends and the Brethren at London, and in due time thro' mercy I arrived well at Rotterdam, and understanding there that William Ames a dear Brother was at Utrecht, I hastened thither, where I found him in good Service for the Lord, both to his and my refreshment. And entering into discourse with him, I understood how he had been in Prison at Amsterdam with another Friend, and how they were turned out of the City, &c. Nevertheless accordingly as it was upon me I went to the aforesaid Amsterdam (though bound in Spirit.) And coming thither about the middle of the second Month, 1657. I came there in a very seasonable and needful time, for Friends being but young, and having had a pretty sore Storm, were somewhat scattered, and scattering, being discouraged and frightened, thro' the indignation and wrath of the Magistrates and Priests, which was somewhat kindled against them, and I made it my work to gather them together again, and to establish them so much as was possible in the eternal Truth: And besides what they had met with from the Magistrates, &c. There had been a bad instrument among them, that had bred much discord and dissension among them, but

Ann. 1657.

How it was at Amsterdam.

The Con-  
cort of  
Professors.

through the mercy and goodness of the Lord, they came in due time to be restored again into Faith and Confidence, Peace and Tranquility in which they kept their Meetings. But as for the Professors, they were high and Conceited, and would scarce believe that a greater Light was sprung up in any part of the World, then what was arisen among them, neither could they well endure to receive instructions from such as would not, nor need not be instructed by them. There were also at that time many Stumbling-Blocks laid in the way of the simple, and many obstructions the Truth met withal in that place, and therefore was my burthens the more, and my sufferings the greater; but the Lord was with me, and the right hand of his Righteousness, that upheld me, glory be to his holy Name for ever and ever.

When I had stayed there for the most part of seven Weeks, I left Friends there for a season, having had very good Service in that place, not only at Meetings, or the like, but about getting Books Printed and Published, which were of very good Service in that Country.

W. A. and  
his Service  
at Zütphen.

Afterwards I went with my dear Brother *William Ames* through some of the principle Cities in *Gilderland*; howbeit our movings were especially to a place called *Zütphen*, a City out of which *W. A.* had been banished before: And when we came there we went to the Meeting-place of the *Memorists* (otherwise *Baptists*) but when we should have gone in, they bolted the door of us, and would not suffer us to continue among them. And *William* being pretty well known in the City, the rude Multitude gathered about us, and to avoid the occasion of a Tumult, we withdrew out of the Streets to the Walls of the City, and very many people followed us. And as we were moved and allowed of God, so we spoke in his power to the making known of his eternal Truth, and a very good opportunity we had thereunto upon the Walls of the City, from which we withdrew when we were free, howbeit the sort of People were very rude in throwing Stones and Clods at us; but the Lord did so preserve us, that we received little harm thereby.

And in the Afternoon there came very many people to us out of the City to our Lodging: where we had also a very good

good opportunity to declare the Everlasting Truth freely among them; and to disperse many Books in their own Language; which to that end we had brought along with us; and several there were that received pretty good satisfaction. And my dear Companion had proposed to have stayed there sometime; but the Magistrates being moved with envy, would not suffer the People to entertain him; besides they took it as a great presumption in him, that he would dare to return again thither, after he was banished from thence. Moreover, they threatened, that if the *Baptists* came at us they should be served in like manner; which threatnings, together with what they had done before, did keep the people much in fear and slavery, that they durst not appear to vindicate that which they were Convinced of.

And after we had such good service there, and in them parts, I returned again to *Amsterdam*, where my service consisted much in keeping things in as good order as was possible; and likewise in getting Books Printed and Published; and in several other respects.

## CHAP. XVI.

*His Service in several Cities in Holland; and the Love of God to him and Friends there: His return again to England; &c.*

I was also at the *Hague* (the place at which the *Grand Court* is kept for the *Seven Provinces*); but little entrance there was for the Truth to be gotten, tho' some good service I had with some in that City. I was also at the City of *Dort* (when the *Plague* was pretty much there) where I found some two or three that were somewhat loving; howbeit, there was almost little entertainment for the Truth in the place, and therefore was my suffering the greater.

I went also sometime to the City of *Utrick* to visit them that were Convinced, where I had now and then good Service, and pretty fine Meetings; but in those days I spoke mostly by an *Interpreter*. And when the Magistrates and Priests came to understand how that the Truth seemed to get some entrance in

A severe  
Order.

in that place, their enmity began to increase against it, and they gave forth an order, How that those that entertained us, and had Meetings at their Houses, should from thenceforth neither entertain us, nor have any more Meetings in their Houses in pain of being turned out of the City, or of being Arbitrarily punished, which threatnings did terrifie some, and caused some to draw back howbeit not at all.

His Service  
at Leyden.

I was also at the City of *Leyden* (where their great University is) and there a Baptist Woman received me into her House, whose Husband was a *Papist*, and there I was allowed to have a Meeting, even in their House, unto which many sorts of People resorted: And the Truth being there a new thing, and very strange, I met with no small opposition, and that especially from the *Papists* and *Baptists*, both which sorts were stirred and offended; the more, because the Man and Woman of the House, who came both to be Convinced; and a Meeting in due time to be settled and established in that City, where oftentimes (as also in other places) I had good Service for the Lord and his Truth; and most commonly, when my Service was over in the Country, I returned again to the City of *Amsterdam*, which was a place of great Concernment, and where there was a more constant Service than in other parts in that Country, and in due time there was an addition to Friends, for the number of them was increased, and their Meetings were kept in very good order, and for the most part pretty peaceable, and the goodness and mercy of the Lord abounded much to that remnant that were gathered. Howbeit, sometimes the rude Multitude was tumultuous and troublesome at our Meetings.

A Deliverance.

And once especially there were many rude People gathered together, who doubtless had much wickedness in their Hearts, and some of the worst of them came into our Meeting Room, and sought presently to lay violent hands on me, and to have done much mischief to me and others, but the Lords power prevented them, and preserved me and Friends, even to our admiration, for I was through Providence cast into a House in the presence of the rude Multitude, who if they had not been as it were blinded with blindness, and restrained through the power of God, they might have executed their fury upon me

me and the rest, but he that was in us (who by his heavenly power preserved us) he was greater than he that was in them, who could in their madness have devoured us at once: but blessed be the Lord our God, who very often shewed mercy unto us, and did very plentifully at sundry times, with his heavenly presence, and infinite loving kindness, even abundantly refresh and comfort our Souls and Spirits, infinite praises be to his Name forever and ever.

And when I had spent above a year in the service of the Lord in the *Low Countries*, (but especially in *Holland*) in which time I had also writ two or three Books at the least, I was free in the Lord to return for *England*, which accordingly I did thro *Zealand*, where I wrote the Book called, *The Moderate Inquirer*, &c. And in due time I got well to *London*, thro the mercy and goodness of the Lord, where I found many of the Brethren; and several precious Meetings we had in and about the City, even to our great refreshment; for about that time the Truth did multiply, grow and spread, and many were added to the Church, and came to receive the Gospel.

For in them daies the Lord indued his Servants and Hand-maids with very much power and wisdom from above, and they went on in his Name, Preaching the Word of Life, both in season and out of season, not only in the Meetings which they were moved to appoint, and which Friends duly kept, but also in Steeple-Houses, and Markets, in Streets and High-ways, or elsewhere, wheresoever, whensoever, or whosoever was moved of the Lord to publish and declare his living Truth.

And when I had been some little time in *London*, I went into *Surry* to some General Meetings there near *Rigate* and *King-June*, where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, and they with me, in the power and presence of the Lord God, which was often eminently manifested amongst us, to the comforting and refreshing of our Souls and Spirits.



## C A A R . X V I I .

*How he was with Friends at a General Meeting in Bedfordshire.*

*How afterwards he returned into the North, and what excellent good Service he had there.*

An. 1658.

**A**T the time called *Whitsuntide*, Anno 1658. there was a *General Meeting* appointed in *Bedfordshire*, at one *John Crocker*, unto which I went with Friends from *Kinghorne*, and unto which many hundreds of Friends resorted, and some of the *Brethren* came from most parts of the Nation, and great was our refreshment together in the Lord.

And when it had continued about two daies, there came some Troopers, howbeit did then apprehend few or none, tho some were in Jeopardy; and afterwards we parted, and went every one as he was moved, some *Eastward*, and others *Westward*, some *Northward*, and others *Southward*: But I and a dear Brother, and former fellow Servant, whose Name was *Thomas Salthouse*, we went towards the *North*, and visited Friends in our Journey, and came finally thro mercy well to *Swarthmore* in *Lancashire* (the place of our former Residence) where we were received with joy and gladness, and indeed great was our refreshment in the Lord, as it wont to be in that place. And divers precious and gallant Meetings we had there and thereabouts, which tended not only to our own refreshment, but to the refreshment of many more, whose hearts and Souls were made truly glad, thro the power and presence of the Lord God which did accompany us.

Westmor-  
land.

And after I was abundantly refreshed at *Swarthmore*, and with Friends thereabouts, I went into *Westmorland* (according as it was upon me) about the latter end of the Fourth Month, in the aforesaid year 1658. where I had some very good Service among Friends at and about *Rendall*. And afterwards I went out of those parts into the *Bishoprick*, where I had several large and precious Meetings, but one very large, gallant *General Meeting* especially, upon a certain *Moore* in a convenient place for Friends to come to from several parts of the County:

And

And the Lords power and heavenly presence was very much with me that day, even to the confirming of them that had believed in the everlasting Truth, and to the Convincing of them ( that were there present ) that were giving and desiring in their hearts and minds after the Truth.

And after the Meeting I went to *Durham*, where that night afterwards I had a very good Meeting, for in those daies it was common with us ( while such an effectual door was open ) to get Meetings in the Evening, besides that which we had had in the day time, for we were freely given up to spend and be spent in the Work of the Lord, which in that day did prosper exceedingly, to our joy and refreshment in the Lord.

And when I had had very good service for the Lord in the *Bishoprick*, I went in some part of *Northumberland*, and visited Friends there, and afterwards from thence to *Carlisle*, where I had very good Service; as also elsewhere in the County of *Cumberland*, where I had many precious and gallant Meetings; *land.* for in that County, there would have come many hundreds to a Meeting; and our Meetings were commonly very peaceable, and the Lord was extraordinary good unto me, and gave me his word plentifully to publish and declare in the power and demonstration of his eternal Spirit, to the confirming of many that had believed in the everlasting Truth of God.

And after I had visited Friends and their Meetings in that County, and was clear thereof, I returned again into *Lancashire* to the aforesaid *Swarthmore*, where I was wont to find Friends in the same Love, Life and Power in which I left them; *Swarthmore a place of refreshment.* and it was very common to us, and with us ( thro' the mercy of the Lord ) to be plentifully refreshed together in and thro' the same; and therefore had we many joyful and blessed days together, the remembrance of which doth even unto this very day sweetly refresh me, especially when I feel the same Love and Life fresh in my self, which then was, and yet is the Author of our living refreshment.

And in the interim when I was at *Swarthmore*, it was my manner (together with others of the Brethren) to go from thence to Meetings in the Country thereabouts, sometime among Friends, and sometime in spots places, where it may be there had scarce ever betwixt a Meeting of Friends: for I made

it my sole work to be found doing the work of God, unto which he had called me, and for which he had in measure fitted and qualified me, blessed be his Name for evermore, who never suffered me to go without my reward.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*His Journey into the South; and his Service in the South; and also in some part of the West. His return to London; and what great Service and refreshment he had there.*

*Ann. 1658.*

**A**Bout the latter end of the Sixth Month, Anno 1658. I took my leave of that Honourable Family and Friends thereabouts, and accordingly as it was upon me, for my late Southwards again, visiting Friends in some part of *Lancashire*, and especially in *Cheshire*; where I stayed about a week or more, where I had several good and precious Meetings to Friends, and my great refreshment in the Lord.

*In Cheshire.*

Afterwards I went pretty readily to *London*, where I found several of the Brethren, and an effectual door open, and Friends generally well, fresh, lively, and very open and tender. And extraordinary good Service I had about that time in the City, and the Lord was pleased to give me much dominion, and even fulness out of the everlasting Treasury, which freely through him that strengthened me, I communicated to them whose Souls were bleaching after the Lord.

*London.*

And when I had been about two weeks, or above, in and about the City, I went down into *Kent*, where I also found an open door, and many fresh desires in people after the Lord; and many precious Meetings I had also in that County, which were of great Service for the establishing Friends in the Truth that were convinced; and for the gathering in of others, that were hungry and desiring after the Truth.

*Kent.*

I went out of that County into *Sussex*, where I also visited Friends, and had several precious Meetings among them; and travelled along pretty near unto the Sea Coast, so far as *Southampton*, where I had also gallant Service among Friends; and after we had been plentifully refreshed together, I took my

*Sussex.*

*Hampshire.*

leave of them as in other places, and visited Friends at *Winchester* that were there in Prison. And afterwards I travelled Westwards into *Somersetshire*, where I visited Friends and some of their Meetings; and being sweetly refreshed among them, I went afterwards to *Bristol*; where I had some exceeding good Service, as also in some parts of the County thereof among Friends; and it was most small matter of joy and rejoycing to me to see the Truth of God so to prosper and flourish, as I saw it did in that my successful Journey, and in due time I returned to *London* again by *Reading*, where I also had visited Friends, and had reaped there refreshment as well as elsewhere; for in all those Travels the Lord had been with me, which even made them (together with the service which I had in them) very pleasant and delightful to me. And many precious and peaceable Meetings I had; and the Lord gave me utterance in power and much Authority, to declare and publish his Name and Truth in, all which redounded to his praise which was his due, and which my Soul did freely render unto him, who was the fount of it, from which all my fresh springs did flow.

And after I had had some very good Service in that City, as before, to the augmenting of my refreshment in the Lord, I passed down into *Kent* again, about the 20th of the 9th Month, where I had very good and precious Service for the most part of a Month, and afterwards I returned to *London* again, where I was determined but to have stayed a few daies, when I went thidiet, but the Work of the Lord was so exceeding great in it, and Meetings so full and so many, that it was even hard to get out of it again in a short time; for indeed in those daies the Truth did mightily prevail and prosper, and not only in that City, but in the Country about it, as also in many parts of the Nation.

After that time I spent some Months in those Southern parts, where especially there was such an effectual door opened. And oftentimes in great Service for the Lord I was exercised both day and night, in which the Lord even made my Cup to overflow. And at that time called *Eastern*, there was a General Meeting held, especially for the Ministering Brethren, who resorted

red unto it from several parts of the Nation, which was at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate in London, upon the Fifth of the Second Month, 1659, and which was very large and exceeding precious, even to the refreshing of many hundreds. And in the after part of the day we had a very great Concourse of People which resorted to our Meeting Place at Horslydown in Southwark, where (within and without doors) it was thought some hundreds might hear the Truth declared that Afternoon; with which many were much affected, and great was our rejoycing and refreshment, which we had in the Work and Service of the Lord, in which we were abundantly refreshed together. And in that great Assembly did our Souls, even with one accord, and with one consent, praise and magnifie the God of our Salvation. And in few daies after, Friends departed out of the City again, their end being fully answered, for which they came together.

# CHAP. XIX.

How he was moved to go for Holland, the fruit of things there; his return again for England, and what deliverances he had in his return.

Ann. 1659.

Colchester.

old worth

long thurs

Harwich.

AND about that time it was upon me to go for Holland, and also in due time I took my leave of Friends and Brethren there, and in much brokenness of heart, Love and Unity we parted, and in order to my going over, I took my Journey towards Colchester there to take Shipping, which accordingly I did, after I had had several large and precious Meetings for the Wind being contrary, I stayed there, and thereabouts near upon three weeks, in which time I had very good and excellent service, for indeed the Lord's heavenly power and presence was much with me, as in other places, not only to my refreshment, but to the refreshment of many more in the Lord. And finally, when the Lord made way for it, I went aboard, and we set Sail, but the Wind proving contrary we put in at Harwich, whereby I came to have an opportunity to see Friends there also. And on the first day of the Week, I had a gallant Meeting



Meeting there, unto which there came not only many Friends out of the Country, but there were also many people that were no Friends, who seemed to be pretty much affected with the Truth when it was declared unto them; but when I had Spoke about an hour or tw, the Master of the Vessel came and called me away, for he was determined to set Sail, then I committed them to the Grace of God and went aboard, and its like thirty or forty Friends might follow me to the Ship-side in Boats, such was their love to me, to the admiration of the Spectators.

And in due time through the good hand of God I got well over to Rotterdam, where I visited Friends, as also elsewhere in the Country, where I found things pretty well as in reference to the Truth, and Meetings pretty peaceable, and about that time Strangers did come more frequently to our Meetings than formerly: And if things had not been carryed in much Wisdom, we might have been often in Tumults, for there were them that watched for Iniquity, and were ready to do mischief, thinking that if the Magistrates would not meddle with us, as we then were; yet if they could but procure an Uproar or Tumult at or about our Meeting Places, that then we should be punished as Uproar-makers. Yet notwithstanding the evil Conspiracies of the wicked, the Lord was exceeding good to Friends, and very gently, and compassionately he dealt with them, and they did grow bold and valiant, and the Truth got dominion among them; so that whereas my suffering before had been great in that Country (especially before I could speak their Language) yet then the Lord refreshed me much among that small remnant which were called by his Name, and which walked in his Eternal Truth. And having then gotten their Language, and being able to Minister in it, I could then much better ease and free my self of the weights and burdens than before. And when I had stayed about two Months in that Country, and seeing things in a pretty good posture as to the Truth, and Friends well settled, and their Meetings kept in good order, it was upon me again to return for England (where there was such an effectual door open.) And in order thereunto I took my leave of Friends in Holland, whom I committed to the Custody and Protection of the Almighty, and so left them.

How it was with Friends in Holland.

And

He could  
not fight.

And in the latter end of the Fifth Month, 1659. I took Shipping for *England*, partly intending for *London*; and when we had been about twenty four hours at Sea, we saw another Ship which proved to be a Pyrate or Robber, which chased us, which when the Master perceived it, he caused all to be made in a readines for to fight, and the Passengers that were aboard they were furnished with Arms so well as the rest, but for my own part I could not touch any of their Weapons, as to shed blood with them, but stood simply given up to the Will of the Lord. And as Providence ordered it, when they were almost within Shot of us, their hearts failed them, and they were not suffered to come up to us, so that there was no blood shed, nor no harm done by either, to each other, wherein the Lord even answered my desire, and for which mercy, my Soul did even bleis, praise and magnifie his holy Name.

But after we were delivered thro the good hand of God from the hands of the aforesaid Pyrate, we were afterwards in pretty eminent danger thro a very violent Storm, which took us when we were near the Coast of *England*, and coming to cast Anchor, we lost both Anchor and Cable, and had our Boat split in pieces, and one great Ship that rode by us was swallowed up of the raging Sea (a sad sight to behold) there not being one Man saved alive in her: Yet nevertheless, the same God that delivered us from the hands of the aforesaid Pyrate, did also deliver us out of that violent Storm, thro whose mercy we got finally into a Harbour at *Tarmonth*, tho it was near upon a hundred Miles from the place for which we partly intended.

## CHAP. XX.

*What great refreshment and Service he had in the North. How he was moved to go for Scotland, his Service there, and his return from thence.*

Ann. 1659.

**A**Nd when I was put so far to the *Northward* as to *Tarmonth*, I determined then to go from thence by Shipping into the *North*, which accordingly I did, with a Friend to *Sunderland*.

land, where I found two of the ancient Ministering Brethren, (*viz.*) Francis Hongill, and John Audland, with whom I was much refreshed, as also with the rest of Friends. And when the first day came, we went together unto a general Meeting in the Country, where there were abundance of Friends and others, and the power and presence of the Lord was much with us, through which we were much refreshed together.

After that Meeting I visited pretty many Friends in the Bishoprick, and in some short time after I passed Westwards, towards Lancashire through Westmoreland, visiting Friends in my Journey as my manner was: And in due time I got well to Swarthmore, where I was received in the same ancient and entire Love, in which we were usually refreshed together, even as at that time afresh, thro the infinite mercy of the most high, which even abounded more than a little to us and among us in those days.

And when I had stayed some weeks there, and thereabouts, went into Cumberland, to visit the Flock of God there again, among whom I had many gallant and precious Meetings, for indeed the power and presence of the Lord did accompany me, and his word of life run freely thro me, to the strengthening of the weak, to the comforting of the feeble, and to the satisfying of the thirsty Soul: And when I had been thro a great part of the County, and had visited the most of Friends in it, I returned again into Lancashire, where I could not stay long at that time, because it was much upon me to go into Scotland to visit Friends there: And in order thereunto, I took my leave even in an extraordinary manner of my dear & near Relations (in the eternal Truth) at Swarthmore, where we spent several hours in waiting upon the Lord, and in pouring forth our supplications before him, and in being refreshed abundantly together, after we seemed to be perfectly clear and ready to part one from another, which finally we did in exceeding much Love and Unity.

And being accompanied by two dear Brethren, (to wit, Leonard Fell, and Robert Salthouse,) I went back again into Cumberland, and visited Friends in my Journey there, where I heard much of the Troubles that were, (and the likelihood of their increasing) in that Nation, yet nevertheless I could

not

not be freed of the Journey, but must go on (like as I did,) *in the Name and power of the Lord*, and presently after our Coming into that Nation, the aforesaid Brethren did take their leave of me, and I of them *in the fulness of our Fathers Love, in much brokenness of heart*, committing one another unto the protection and custody of the Almighty, and there we parted: and afterwards I and another Friend travelled on our Journey towards *Edinbrough*, where in due time thro the mercy of God we arrived, after some hard travel.

*Scotl. n.*

And the next day (after our arrival there,) we went to a general Meeting at *Lythgoe*, (about twelve Miles from *Edinbrough*) where we found Friends at their Meeting by the Highway side, unto which many people resorted, and a good Service we had at it, howbeit the people of the Town were so incensed against us, that we could scarce get any entertainment among them for our Money; but the Governours Wife of the Castle being at the Meeting, her heart was opened and filled with love towards us, and the Truth, and she constrained us to turn in with her, and to take up our Lodging in the Castle, which we were free in the Lord to do. And after that we had some more good Service in the Town, which when it was over, I returned back again towards *Edinbrough* and *Leeth*, where I had some good Service. And about that time it was pretty much upon me to have spoken with *General Monck*, (it being about the time of his advancing for *England*) but I was not permitted, but was constrained to deliver my Message, or to make known my Business to his Secretary, which he promised to Communicate to his Master, whereupon I came to be pretty well discharged.

And afterwards it was upon me to visit Friends in the *West* of that Nation, which accordingly I did, to the Confirming and Establishing of them in the Eternal Truth, and in due time after I had had some good Service among them, I became pretty clear of that Country, and did afterwards set my Face again towards *England*, and travelling mostly alone, (after my Fellow-Traveller had left me,) I got well notwithstanding (thro the goodness of God) back to *England* again.

## CHAP. XXI.

What good Service he had in Lancashire, how he was moved to go Southwards; and what extraordinary good Service he had in the Southern parts, &c.

**A**Nd upon my return from Scotland, I visited Friends again in *Cumberland*, and thro some difficulty, (it being in the Winter season and very tempestuous weather,) got back again into Lancashire, and so to *Swarthmore*, which was always a place of refreshment to me: And when I had continued there some time, it was upon me to go down into the bottom of Lancashire (so called,) to visit Friends and their Meetings, which accordingly I did, and several good and serviceable Meetings I had in divers of the great Towns in Lancashire, as at *Garefrang*, *Preston*, *Wiggan*, *Liverpool*, and *Warrington*, &c.

Ann. 1659.

And being at a Meeting in *Warrington*, the 7th. of the 12th Month 1659, there came several Rude Soldiers of the baser sort, and did much abuse Friends, and after they had done much violence to us, they broke up our Meeting, and forced us out of the Town, but near unto the Town upon the Rode-side we gathered together again, and had a sweet and precious Meeting, but it was not long till the Soldiers came thither also, and I being Speaking, they took me violently from among the rest, and did beat me, some with their Muskets, and the other with their Spears in the sight of Friends, to the breaking of the hearts of many, and when they had satisfied their wills with abusing of me, they suffered me to return into the Meeting again, which afterwards we kept a certain time to our great refreshment in the Lord, whose power and presence did exceedingly appear amongst us; for as our Suffering at that time, was greater than ordinary, even so was our refreshment in the Lord. After that I visited Friends in some part of *Cheshire* and elsewhere, and when I had had exceeding good Service in them parts, I returned again to *Swarthmore*, where I found always refreshment in the fulness of the Father's Love, which

Friends  
and his suf-  
fering at  
Warrington.

oil well  
society  
good  
which



which abounded much among us in that blessed Family.

And I had not been long there, and with my natural (dear) Mother, (who about that time lay down the body when I was with her,) but it was upon me to go *Southwards*, first towards a general Meeting of the Brethren from several parts of the Nation, (which was at *Balbie* in *Torkshire*;) and afterwards towards *London*; and it was so ordered that *Thomas Salihouse* (my dear Companion and fellow-Servant) together with *Bridget* and *Isabell Fell* did accompany me, and when the time of our departure from *Swarthmore* was come, our very hearts were sad, and yet broken within us, as they used to be at such seasons: And when with *Prayers and Supplications unto the Lord* we had earnestly interceded one for another, and had committed one another to his Custody and Protection, as our manner was at such times, we took leave one of another in the fulness and Vertue of Love and Unity: And then set forwards in our Journey, in the Name and power of the Lord.

Ann. 1640.  
The general Meeting at *Balbie*.

And when we came in *Torkshire*, we had some Meetings before we got to the aforesaid *Balbie*, and when we got thither we found many of the ancient Brethren there, and Friends that were come from several parts of the Nation, so that the Meeting consisted of many hundreds; and when it was about the height, there came a part of a Troop of Horse to break it up, and to dismiss Friends, but they were moderate, and Friends did continue their Meeting until they had freedom in the Lord to break it up. And the next day after we had a very large and precious Meeting, not far from that place; and when we were abundantly refreshed together in the Lord, thro the supreme abounding of his mercy and goodness to us, we took leave one of another in much Love and Unity, and every one went in peace towards his respective place where the Lord had a service for him.

How he was taken and freed again.

And as for me, and the aforesaid *Thomas Salihouse* (my dear Brother) we travelled Southwards towards *London*, and visited Friends in our Journey: And as we were Travelling in *Nottinghamshire*, some Troop met us upon the Road and apprehended us, and carried us before some of their Commanders, who sent us to the Commissioners at *Nottingham*, where we were further examined by them, or some of them; and being

being found innocent were discharged, and suffered to pass on our Journey in peace.

And coming into *Northamptonshire* we visited Friends at *Wellingbrough*, and thereabouts, and being sweetly refreshed among them, we took our leave of them, and travelled along until we came well, thro the mercy of the Lord, unto *London*; *London*. where we had several precious Meetings, and were more than a little refreshed with the Flock of God there, as oftentimes my Soul had been before in that City, where I stayed about two Weeks, and afterwards parted with my dear Brother *Thomas Saltbouse*. And accordingly as it was upon me, I went down into *Surry* and *Suffex*, where I had very good Service for the Lord, and many gallant and precious Meetings I had, which were of great Service at that time.

At *Hert* in *Suffex*, upon the 27th of the Third Month 1660. *Suffex*. I had a mighty large Meeting, unto which many Friends from several parts of the County did resort, together with many other that were no Friends; and indeed an exceeding precious and serviceable Meeting it was, but weighty and heavy upon me, before I went into it. But this I have often observed and found by experience, that by how much the more I felt the weight of the Service of the Meeting, before I went into it, by so much the more was my Service in it, and my reward accordingly, blessed and magnified be the Name of the Lord for ever.

At that time it was somewhat difficult Travelling thereabouts, by reason of the many Watches that were set with a strict Order (as I was informed) for to Apprehend all suspicious *Quakers*, *Baptists*, and *Papists*; howbeit, the Lord was pleased to preserve me out of their Hands. And at the time called *Whitsonide*, we had a very precious and large Meeting near *Horsham* of Friends out of four Counties, according to appointment, which we enjoyed thro many pretty peaceably to our great refreshment in the Lord; who in those days did very eminently manifest his heavenly power and presence in our Assemblies, to our great refreshment.

After the aforesaid General Meeting was over, and I pretty clear of that County, I went into *Kent*, where I visited the *Barbican*, and had many large and precious Meetings in that *Kent* County.

Country also, in several parts of it, which tended much to the confirming and establishing Friends in the Truth, and to the Convincing of them that heard the same eternal Truth declared.

*London.*

*Essex.*

*Suffolk.*

*Norfolk.*

And when I was pretty free and clear of those Parts, I returned again to *London*; where I stayed some certain time, and had special good Service as I wont to have in that City. And afterwards I went into *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, and visited Friends and their Meetings in many places of the aforesaid Counties, where I had as excellent good Service as my heart could desire, for the Lord's refreshing presence went along with me; and the Word of his Power, that supported me, and carried me thro that great and weighty Service, in which I was so much exercised in that blessed day, wherein the Truth did flourish and prevail mightily in very many parts of the Nation, which was no small cause of joy unto us, that were witnesses of it.

## C A A P. XXII

*His return to Holland again, and how it was with him in his Journey thither and there. How he went into Friesland, and what good Service he had there in several Cities.*

*An. 1660.*

*Kent.*

AND when I had had such good Service as aforesaid in those parts, and was become pretty free of them, I returned again to *London*; where I alwaies found service enough, and for the most part a door open in that place, wheremy Service was truly acceptable to the Lord and his People. And when I had been some certain time in it, and had had exceeding good Service there and thereabouts, it was upon me to go over to *Holland*; and in order thereunto I returned into *Kent* after (in much brokenness of heart, and in perfect Love and Unity) I had taken my leave of Friends and Brethren at *London*; And in my passing thro the County I visited Friends and their Meetings, as my manner was, I staid several daies at *Staplehurst* with *Thomas Housegoe*, who then lay upon his Death-bed (who was a serviceable Instrument in any day in those parts)

and after he was laid in the Ground, we had a very gallant and precious Meeting (there being many Friends at his Burial.) After which, I passed towards *Dover*, where I took Shipping for *Zealand*, in order to my going for *Holland*; and after some hardship sustained at Sea (the more by reason of tempestuous weather and contrary Winds) thro the Providence of the Lord I got to *Flushing*, where I staid but little, till I passed for *Mid-dleborough*, where I visited them very few Friends that there were in the City, and afterwards I went to *Treveare*, where I found a Vessel almost ready to Sail for *Dort* in *Holland*: And truly in my Journey I was exceedingly filled with the Lord's Love, and the power of his might, tho I was as alone, not having any Friend in Company with me, but many Passengers; and among the rest a *Catholic*, who was filled with much envy and wickedness, and uttered desperate threatening words against me, giving some to understand what a small matter it was in their account, to do a man a mischief that spoke against their Religion.

The rudeness of a Papist.

And in the height of his wickedness he boasted of a Pardon which he had in his Pocket, not only for the Sin he had committed, but also for what he should commit; but before we parted the power of the Lord reached to his own Witness in the Man, whereby he was smitten in himself for his folly, and his fury against me was much turned into Friendship towards me.

Thus do we often see the Lord changing the hearts of our Enemies, and restraining them from the evil they intend against us, which we must needs acknowledge to be the Lords doing, which is and often hath been marvellous in our Eyes; to him therefore be *Glory, Honour, and Dominion for ever and ever.*

The Lords Work.

Afterwards I got well to *Rotterdam* (thro mercy) where I found Friends very well in the Lord. And after we had been sweetly refreshed together, I took leave of them and went to the City of *Leyden*, where I also visited that little Flock, and with whom my Soul at that time was refreshed. And afterwards I passed from thence to the City of *Amsterdam*, where my refreshment was augmented in the Lord among his Babel in that Place, where I arrived the Sixth of the Tenth Month,

Rotterdam.

Leyden.

Amsterdam.

Afterwards it was upon me with another Friend (called *Peter Hendrix*) to go into *Friezland*, which accordingly we did, and in due time (thru mercy) we arrived well upon a First Day in the Morning, at a place called *Dockham*, where we went into the Meeting of the *Doopsgezinde* (i.e. Baptists so called) which was indeed very large. And after he that spoke had done, I stood up and began to declare the everlasting Truth in their own Language, but they were much divided among themselves, for some would gladly have had me, others would not suffer me, but one of the chiefest of their Teachers was very moderate, and spoke to this purpose, *That if I had a nearer way to God to declare, than that which they knew, or one that was more excellent than theirs, they would willingly bear me.* And in order thereunto many of them came together in the afternoon, and heard me declare that way which I preferred before theirs, and affirmed it to be nearer to God, and more excellent than theirs. And little they had at that time to object against it; and before we parted they were so far satisfied, that by their great silence (in which they sat as if they had been Friends) they seemed not to have any thing further to object.

And after the Meeting was done, the aforesaid Teacher invited us to his House, as to take up our Lodging there, which (for several reasons) we were free to accept of. And when we got to his House at night, many People followed us, so that we had a very good Meeting in his House that night. And when we had continued there some time in very good Service, we left that place and returned to *Lewarden*, the Metropolitane City of that Province. And there we found some in whom there was desire after the Truth with whom we had some Meeting or Meetings. And afterwards we passed to a place called *Muckham*, where there were also many of the aforesaid *Doopsgezinde*; and there we were entertained by an old man, who had been a Preacher among them for many years.

And when the First day came, it was upon us to go to their place of Worship, which accordingly we did, and there we waited until he that was speaking had done: And afterwards I began to speak, but he would not suffer me (to wit, he that had Preached) but became presently very angry, and the people



people would gladly have heard me, but he would not suffer them, for he became finally souncivil, that he put the People out of the Meeting place with his own hands; at which some being much offended, a Skipper or Master of a Vessel, stood up and said, *Wilt ghy hem alhier niet toelaeten om te spreken, dan sall by tot mynents spreken*; that is, *If they would not suffer me to speak there, then I should speak at his House*; and the same man came and took us to his Houle, where afterwards we had a pretty good Meeting, and such as had desires to hear the Truth (which the aforesaid angry man would not suffer me to declare in their Meeting Place) such came thither, so that some very good Service I had there for the Lord.

And when we were free of that Place, we went to *Worck* Worckham.  
*ham*, where we also had a Meeting or Meetings. And when we were pretty clear of those Parts, we returned again for *Amsterdam*, where we were received with Joy and Gladness by Friends there, who rejoyced with us in the good Service which we had had, and blessed be the Lord for our preservation.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*How he came over to London, and returned suddenly again for Holland. How he and William Ames went into Germany; what Service they had in their Journey; as also with the Prince Palatine.*

**A**fter that I continued several Months in *Holland*, where I had very good Service, sometime at *Alkmore*, sometime at *Ebanlen*, sometime at *Leyden*, sometime at *Rotterdam*, but mostly at *Amsterdam*; and I was much as alone, especially about that time, for *William Ames* who had had very much good Service in those parts, was sometime in *Germany*, sometime at *Hambrough*; and once he travelled thro *Bohemia*, and to *Dantzick*, and from thence to *Poland*. And *John Higgins* who had been much in *Holland*, he was seldom with me neither; so that (I say) I was much as alone in the Country, but indeed the mercy and goodness of the Lord abounded very much towards me, for which my Soul hath cause for ever to praise and magnifie his Name. Ann. 1642.

His re-  
freshment  
at London.

And about the time called *Whitsuntide*, Anno 1661. it was upon me to come over to *London*, chiefly to visit Friends there and thereabouts, after their great suffering. And the Lord gave me an opportunity, with two Friends more (*viz. William Welch*, and *Benjamin Furlly*) and in due time, thro the mercy of the Lord, we got well over to *Harwich*, and from thence to *Colchester*, and so to *London*, where I was at several precious Meetings, and was more than a little refreshed with the Brethren, not only at *London* but also at *Kingstone*; but being pretty much prest in Spirit to return for *Holland* again (where there was some needful Service for me, which required my hasting) I took my leave of Friends and Brethren, even in much Love and Unity at *London*, with whom my refreshment at that time was so great, that the remembrance of it afterwards was a refreshing to me. Afterwards we got well back to *Colchester*, where we had a very large and precious Meetings, to our and Friends refreshment in the Lord; and from thence we went to *Harwich* again; from whence we went over to *Holland* again, and had a prosperous and successful Journey of it (blessed be the Lord) which tended much to our refreshment.

And at that time I had the Book, called, *An Abridgment*, in hand which I Printed at *Rotterdam*; and after I had finished it, I visited Friends in most places of that Country, and had several good Meetings among them, to their and my refreshment in the Lord.

And about that time it was upon me to go into *Germany*, partly to visit Friends, and partly to speak with the Prince *Palatine*, and some else in that Country: And in order therunto I took my leave of Friends in *Holland* with much tenderness of heart, committing them to the Custody and Protection of the Almighty.

And about the Tenth of the Seventh Month 1661. I with my dear Brother *William Ames*, set forwards on our Journey towards *Germany*, and in due time we got well to *Cologne*; and from thence we travelled towards the *Grave de Whitt's* Country, who had promised large Liberty to all sort of People, that would come and inhabit in his Dominion. And when we came there, we went to his House, and had an opportuni-

ty to speak with him, and he reasoned very moderately with us a pretty while, and we endeavoured to inform our selves as much as we could from his own mouth, of the certainty of what was published in his name concerning *Liberty*. But in *Five*, we perceived clearly from him, that his Invitation thro' promising *Liberty* or *Toleration*, was not so much out of Love to render Consciences, as out of Covetousness to what was theirs as since hath more evidently appeared.

Light  
maketh  
manifest.

And after we had had a very good time with him, and had informed our selves sufficiently, and tried the ground from whence such things had proceeded, we parted from him, and went up into the Country, and had some good opportunity to speak with some of the Priests and some of the People; and after we had satisfied and cleared our selves, we left those parts, and travelled on our Journey towards the *Palz* or *Palatinate*; where in due time, thro' the mercy of the Lord, we arrived, and came to a place called *Krisheim*; where we found a small Remnant of Friends that bore their Testimony to the Truth in that Country, with whom we were more than a little refreshed, after our long and pretty tedious Journey. And there we continued some time, helping them to gather their Grapes (it being the time of their Vintage). And when we had had a time of refreshment among them, we travelled towards *Heidleburgh* (the place of the Prince's Residence.) And soon after we came at *Heidleburgh*, we went to the Captain of the Prince's Life-Guard, and made known our desires to him as concerning speaking with the Prince; and he was willing to procure us access to him: so that soon after the Prince sent for us to his Palace, and he being at Dinner, caused us to stand by him; and wishal, heard very moderately what we had to say to him. Afterwards we presented several Books unto him, all which he kindly received from us, and was indeed very courteous to us, and reasoned very familiarly with us in the presence of the Great Ones that were present with him; and after we had had a gallant opportunity with him, we returned again to our Lodging.

The  
Princes  
moderation.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*What good Service they had afterwards with the Prince, as also in that Country. How W. C. was before the Council at Heidelberg, and what good Service he had with the President.*

Ann. 1661.

**A**Nd in some short time after we went up to the Prince's Palace again, having some further occasion to speak with him about; and having free access to him, we found him very moderate and courteous to us as formerly; and he spoke to his Captain to cause us to sit down at the Table with his Attendants, which we found freedom in the Lord to do, for he seemed to be troubled something before, when he had observed our unfreeness in that thing.

And after Dinner we had much private discourse with him (the Governour of *Manheim* being only present) and we found him to be pretty courteously affected towards us, and therefore we were the freer to declare the Truth in much plainness to him, and was zealous in pleading Friends Cause with him, who had suffered by the Priests about their Tythe in his Dominion. And after we had spent some hours with him that day, we returned to our Lodging again. For about that time we were very busie in answering several Books that were extant in *High Dutch* against the Truth and Friends. The Answers to which we had intended to have Printed there; but the Printers fearing the Reproof of the Clergy, durst not Print them for us in that City; then we departed from thence, and returned again to Friends at *Krusheim*; and when we had staid some time with Friends there, *W. A.* determined to return again for *Amsterdam* there to get the aforesaid Books Printed; and in due time he took his leave of Friends there, and I went along with him to a place called *Allone*, where the Governour of those parts lived; and it was upon us to go to him, to lay some abuses before him that were sustained by Friends; and he was moderate towards us, and a good Service we had with him; and after that he gave me an Order for the Officer of the place where

where Friends lived for him to take care that the rude multi-  
tude did not abuse Friends.

And after we had been with him, we took leave of each other in the indearedness of our Fathers Love, and he went for *Holland*, and I returned to *Kriesheim* again, where I stayed with Friends some certain time, and afterwards went to *Heidelberg* again (for I was not clear of that City;) And when I came there I hired a Lodging in a Goldsmiths House, and sometime I went up to the *Princes Palace*, and had good Service there; and sometime I was with some of the great Ones of the City, with whom I had also at sundry times very good Service, and some of them were very Courteous and respectful to me, and more love did appear in some of them towards me than others could well bear. And then begun the enmity in the *Clergy* to get up against me, and thro the means of some that were envious against me, I with another young man (who was all the Friends that were in that City) were ordered to appear before the Council, as also the man that entertained us, which accordingly we did, and a very good Service we had, for never had there been any Friend there before; so that they had many things to Query of me, and the Lord was pleased at that very time to give me enough wherewith to answer them, as also utterance, boldness and dominion, even to the admiration of some, and they were indifferent moderate towards us, and suffered me to speak pretty freely and largely among them; but in the end (that they might appear to do something) they would have me to depart out of their City, tho they had nothing to lay to my charge, except for declaring the Truth, and dispersing some Books which testified of the Truth, yet however they suffered us then to depart from their Judgment Seat in peace.

How it was  
given him  
at the very  
Instant.

And afterwards the *Prince* came to hear of it, at which (as we were informed) he was very highly displeased with the Council for troubling us, when we had given them no just occasion. After that I went to the *Presidents* House, who had examined me before the Council; and after a little discourse with him, he became pretty moderate, and did reason very familiarly with me; and asked me many things concerning our Friends in *England*; as also concerning the Magistrates



proceeding towards them: & I was very free to give him a full account thereof for his Information. And before we parted he seemed to be very loving to me, and thanked me for the Present I had given him, which was some Friends Books; and yet before the Council, my giving of such Books to People was the greatest Crime they had to lay to my charge, tho both the Prince and he did receive them from me, and accept of them.

# CHAP. XXV.

What good Service he had in several Parts of that Country. How he suffered in the Temple at Franckford. How he Disputed with a Jesuite at Worms. And how two of the Brethren were with him at Heideburgh.

Ann. 1661.

Manheim.

I Was several Months (yea half a year) in that Country, where I had sometimes very good Service for the Lord, sometime in one place, sometime in another. I was several times at a City called *Manheim*, where there were a sort of *Baptists*, who lived together as one Family, and had their Goods common, with whom I was several times, and did bear my Testimony to the Truth of God among them, tho few of them received it.

I was several times with the Governour of that City at his own house, and he was very courteous to me (at least beginning) and desired me so often as I came to the City, to come to his House.

I was also in the Country with a Countess (so called) who was very loving to me, and pretty open to hear the Truth, and at her house I found a great Lord (so called) who formerly had been General of the Emperours Army (that was inform'd) and a great Conference I had with him in the Countesss presence, who was rather one with me in her Judgment than with the great Man beforementioned, and after I had had some very good Service with them, I left them.

Franckford

I was also at *Franckford*, and endeavoured to get some Book or Books Printed there, but could not prevail with the *Stationers*, for the Books that were to be Printed there, were first to be

be visited by some of the Clergy. And when I saw I could not prevail there, I went (with another Friend) to another City called *Mannab*, where we got our business done, and afterwards returned again to *Frankford*, one of the chief (if not the chiefest) City in Germany.

And upon a certain time I went into their chief *Monastery* or *Temple*, where the *Emperours* are usually Crowned; and the *Priests* they were gathering to their Devotion; and they were exceedingly offended with me, because I did not stand uncovered in that (they call) Sacred (tho it be an Idolatrous) place. And some of the *Priests* did speak to me, and one especially was exceeding angry. And when we had spoke but a little together in Latin, he turned from me in a fury, and another that was with him fell upon me and did beat me sorely, and there he left me bleeding in the Temple, where I left pretty much of my blood behind me, as a Testimony against the Idolatry of that Idolatrous place.

I was also in the *Synagogue* of the Jews at that City, where I reasoned pretty much with them, and had a good opportunity to bear a faithful Testimony of the Eternal Truth, tho they could apprehend little of it with their dark minds, which were blinded with the God of this World, like as their Forefathers were. I had also some Books to dispose of among them, which for Novelties sake, they coveted much after. And when I had cleared my self of them, I lost them; and in due time returned again into the *Palace*.  
 I was also in the City of *Wormes*, and it was upon me to go to the *Jesus College*, to reason with them, or some of them, concerning the Truth of God, and their Traditions, which accordingly I did. And when I came there, one that was eminent among them did soon enter into discourse with me, and did speak very faintly to me for some time, for at the first he seemed to have hopes (as it appeared to me) to have won or gained me to his Religion: And therefore did he seem to be the more ready and willing to resolve me in whatsoever I propounded, so far as (I believe) he well could; but when he saw I did notwithstanding lay open their *Apostasy*, and boldly give my Testimony against their Inventions, Superstitions, and Traditions, he could scarcely contain himself from breaking out into passion. And

And after I had spent some hours in Dispute with him, in the presence of several that belonged to the *Colledge* ( yet he wasas the Mouth for the whole ) when I had cleared my Conscience, and born a faithful Testimony unto the Truth among them, I left them, and returned again to *Kreisheim* where our Friends inhabited, for sometime I was there, some time at *Heidelberg*, and some time elsewhere, where I saw the Lord had a Service for me.

Now J. S. And upon a certain time when I was at *Heidelberg*, there and H. F. came two of my dear Brethren to the City ( viz. *John Stubbs* and *Henry Fell*, who had been at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and in *Italy*, &c. And the Post-Master of that place seeing of them, did bring them to my Lodging ( for he knew me well ) and they had no knowledge of my being in the City. And presently after came the Captain of the Prince's Life-Guard ( having seen them in the Street, and he being a very friendly and courteous man to us, discoursed very friendly and familiarly with us, and afterwards told the Prince of the aforesaid Friends being in the City.

And soon after the Prince sent his *Secretary* to my Lodging to desire us to come up to the Castle to speak with him, which accordingly we did, and when we came there, he began to speak friendly and familiarly to us, as his manner was, and did ask them much concerning their Travels, and how it had been with them, &c. And a very gallant opportunity we had then also with him in the presence of the Nobles ( so called ) that were conversant with him. And after he had discoursed long with us, he parted very lovingly from us. And soon after we went out of the City.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Concerning Niesje Dirrix Death, and her Vertue. The rise of his Marriage, and the manner of his proceeding in the thing, &c.*

**A**ND at that very time, when the aforesaid Brethren were with me, I received some Letters out of *Holland*; whereby I was informed of the Death of Dear *Niesje Dirrix* of *Amsterdam*, who had been a dear extraordinary and special Friend of mine, and a true and faithful Servant to the Flock of God in the *Low Countries*, of whose Love, Vertue, Faithfulness, and good Service which she did in her day, a Volume might be writ: so that when I heard of her departure, my heart was very much saddened, and broken within me, and indeed it was more than I could well bear, but the aforesaid Brethren being with me, they bore with me, and the Lord he supported me in that heaviness, and comforted me, with the promise and assurance which I had from him, of his raising and bringing her Sister *Anneken Dirrix* (with some else) into her Love, Life and Spirit, to perform that or the like Service for the Lord which she had done.

Ann. 1661

How he was saddened, and yet comforted.

And in process of time, something came before me, and upon me, as from the Lord (which afterwards did more fully appear) concerning my taking *Anneken Dirrix* to Wife; unto which I took little heed at first, but sought rather totally to expel all such Cogitations out of my mind; yet behold, by how much the more I seemed to extinguish the appearance of such a thing, by so much the more did it prevail in me, and came to be clearer and clearer to me; which when I observed that, I began to weigh the thing more seriously, and to hearken more diligently to see what the Lord would require of me concerning it, and what the effects of it might be. And many things the Lord was pleased to shew me concerning it; as in reference to the Service that there might be in it as to the Truth and Friends, and how helpful I might be to her, in assisting her in effecting that Service which I saw in the Light of the Lord, would be required of her, after the removal of

How and when the thoughts of his marriage did enter him.

her Dear Sister, who had been to her as her right-hand, together with several other things, which for the present I may omit to mention.

How it remained with him.

Thus did the thing for a pretty long time remain very fresh in me, both night and day, and abundance of Objections came in my mind in many respects concerning it; but withal, matter sufficient wherewith to answer them all. And after I had very much tried and discussed the thing in the Light of the Lord in my own heart, and in due time found it to be of the Lord, I began to acquiesce and to rest satisfied in my self, thro giving up to the will of the Lord in the thing; but did not once open my mouth of it to any for the space of many Weeks (I might say Months) nay not while I remained in Germany.

How secret he kept it.

And withal it was about that time shewn me, how I should proceed in the matter (*viz.*) I was to keep it secret until I came into Holland, and then I should motion it to some of the Brethren (before I should once mention it to her either by Word or Writing;) and if they did own it and approve of it, I should thereby be so much the more assured that it was of the Lord.

Ann. 1662.

And when I had been about half a year in Germany, and had had very good Service, (especially in the Palatinate) it was upon me to return again for Holland, which accordingly I did. And when (thro the mercy of the Lord) I was gotten well thither, I visited Friends (as my manner was) and we were sweetly refreshed together. And as for the aforesaid *Anneten* her Love abounded to me, and mine did the like to her in the Lord.

Confirmation.

And in due time when I had a good opportunity with some of the dearest of the Brethren in those parts, I spoke with some of them about the aforesaid matter, and gave them an honest Account of the ground and rise of it, &c. And after they had pondered upon it, and weighed it in the Light of the Lord, they made known to me the Unity they had with the thing, and how their hearts were affected with it, and what Service there might be in the thing, as to the Truth and Friends in those parts; by all which I was the more confirmed in the matter, and further satisfied concerning its being of the Lord.

And



And in some certain time when I had a convenient opportunity to speak with her about it, then I began to tell her in much Humility and fear (as before the Lord) what was entred into my heart in Germany; and how it was upon me at that time to acquaint her with it; and then I did open the very ground of the matter to her and told her at large how it had been with me in the thing; and that I desire her to consider of it, and that except she did also see and feel something of it, as from the Lord, she should let it cease, and speak no more of it.

And withal I had three things to propound to her, which I was to leave to her Consideration, and unto which I desired in due time to have her answer. The first was, It was upon me to give her to understand, That as for matter of *Elitig* mine was not like unto hers, for I had not much as to the outward. And she was to consider whether she could notwithstanding consent unto the thing.

His wisdom and foresight. Three reasons things.

*Secondly*, She was to consider how I should expect my Liberty (which was more to me than the Treasures of Egypt) to go abroad in the Service of the Lord, as I had done before, whether it was to visit Friends, or upon any other Service for the Lord, or upon the Truth's account; this she was also to consider before hand, that when the thing came to pass, it might not seem strange to her.

*Thirdly*, She was to consider how if the thing should come to pass, there might peradventure follow some trouble, either from the Magistrates, or from some of her Relations, or other discontented Spirits, who might be dissatisfied with the thing, and therefore she was to consider whether she could bear that or no.

These three things I left to her Consideration, and when she was free, she was to return me an Answer thereunto, which in several Weeks after she did. And as to the first she said, It was not Means which she looked after but Vertue. And as to the second she said, That when I was moved of the Lord to go upon any Service upon the account of the Truth, whether to visit Friends or otherwise, she hoped that she should not be the Woman that should hinder me upon such an account. And as to the last she said, That if the Lord did once bring

His wisdom and foresight. Her wisdom Answers to them.

the

the thing is far as to be effected, the hoped that to bear what  
people whom should say (whom we were perfectly clear in the  
thing before the Lord) that that would be one of the least  
Cross.

## CHAP. XXVII

*How Confirmations he had in the thing. How he endeavoured to  
manage it in all wisdom. How he met with no opposition. And*

*the day of William Arnes Burial was the day of his Mar-*

*riage.*

Now upon a certain time (many weeks after the thing  
was first propounded to her) she opened her heart to me,

and told me, how much such a thing had been upon her, while  
I was yet in Germany (tho I had not writ a word of it to her)

and how she tho she desired much to see me, yet because  
she feared such a thing would come upon her at my return

she desired therefore I might have stayed the longer out of Ger-  
many and when I heard these things, I was confirmed myself

in my self, that the thing must needs be of the Lord, being he  
had made her so sensible of it as well as my self. And many

weeks after we waited upon the Lord, to know his will and  
mind yet further concerning us in the thing.

And in the meantime I wrote of it to several of the Bre-  
thren in England, whose answers in due time I received, and

compared them together, and behold I found them unani-  
mously to agree in their mutual approbation in the thing,

which also was a further Confirmation to me of its being of  
the Lord; yet in all this time we did not know certainly whe-  
ther it would come to pass or no. And we were determined

to keep clear from binding our selves by Promise, as some that  
are unwise have done; yea, and have resolved to accomplish

the thing, tho Friends should be against it; nevertheless will  
they ask advice, and that when it is too late. But this we re-  
solved to avoid; to the end that we might be the better exam-  
ple for it lay upon me, that if the thing came to pass, it

should be carried on in such wisdom, as that it should not on-  
ly

be a second Confirmation.

A third Confirmation.

The folly of some.

ly be of good report among the Brethren, but that it should also be exemplary to them that should afterwards follow in things of this nature; for it was the first Marriage in this Part that was according to the approved manner and practice among Friends.

And after we had waited long in the thing, and that several Months were expired, and that I had imparted it to several Friends in Holland by word of mouth, and did not meet with any opposition. Upon a certain time she was moved to come to me, and soon after was exceedingly broken, and wept as I may say, in an excessive manner. Fortified it was upon her to give up her self in the Will of the Lord; and she was moved to speak these words, *My en Zyn niet meer twee maar een wijf*, &c. that is, *We are no more twain but one flesh*, &c. And when I heard her speak these words with such a flood of tears, I fancied I was something moved thereby; but did not then that instant feel the life so immediately answering to the thing as I desired, upon such an extraordinary occasion; but waiting a little, exceeding *hesitantly* in the Light of the Lord, the life began to arise, and the Word of the Lord testified unto me thus, saying, *She is the Gift of God to thee*; then was my heart also broken, and in the fulfils of Love and Unity in the everlasting Covenant did I receive her as the Lords Gift unto me. And Oh! how were our Hearts and Souls overcome and refreshed through the infinite love of God; for as we had desired that our joining together might be entirely by the Lord, and that we might have the evident Testimony of his eternal Spirit in our selves, even so it came to pass, to our great refreshment in the Lord.

And after we were thus joined together by the Lord, and in his presence, it was upon me to write of it into the North of England, to have it published in that Honourable Meeting at *Swanwick* (unto which I belonged) which accordingly was done to Friends great refreshment. And in the mean time proceeded to the publishing of it in our Meeting at *Amsterdam*, which I did three times one after another, without any opposition from any, but on the contrary publick Testimonies were given of it by Friends in the publick Meeting.

And finally when the time was come that it should be presented, there was a General Meeting of Friends at *Amsterdam*, from

from several parts in that Country, who were Eye witnesses of our accomplishing of it in the fear and wisdom of the Lord, and in the unity of his Spirit, the last day of the Eighth Month, *Anna 1662*. And when it was accomplished as aforesaid, all the Men Friends that were then and there present at the Meeting, did universally subscribe their Names to a Certificate, which for the future was to satisfie such as might desire to have an account of the matter for their satisfaction and information.

The day  
of his  
Marriage  
a day of  
heaviness.

And that same day after the Meeting was done, did we bring *William Ames's* Body to the ground, who had finished his Testimony, and left a good favour behind him. And though we went as wisely to work as we could to prevent a Tumult; yet nevertheless on a sudden, the rude People were gathered together, and became so tumultuous, that without pretty much difficulty we could not get through them with the Corps, which finally was laid in the Ground; and afterwards the Multitude was very rude, and Friends were pretty much abused; however, through mercy we were all preserved.

## C H A P. XXXVIII

How after he was Married he went for England; what excellent good Service he had in the South Parts thereof. His return afterwards to Holland; his continuance there; after that his return again for England, with his Wife and others; their residence, and their parting.

Ann 1662  
The love  
of the  
Father  
to  
them.

Afterwards I continued several Weeks with my dear Wife, and the Lord was pleased very much to comfort and refresh us together with his infinite loving kindness; which abounded to us, and with his heavenly blessings which he caused to descend upon us, for which our Souls have cause for ever to praise and to magnifie his Name. And afterwards I went out upon the Service of Truth to visit Friends in other places, as I had done before.

And in less than three Months after I was Married, it was upon me to go for England; and in order thereunto, I took

my leave of my dear Wife, and the rest of Friends in those Parts. And about the 25th of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Month, *May 1662.* I Embarked my self for England, and in due time I got (thru the mercy of the Lord) well to *Cochet*, where I was sweetly refreshed with Friends, as I wont to be in that place. And afterwards I went into the Country, where I had several good and precious Meetings. And when I had visited Friends in the Country, I went up to *London* with another dear Brother, *London.* and there I was also sweetly refreshed as I wont to be among the Flock of God there; and especially at *Newgate* with dear *Edward Borrough*, who was then a Prisoner there; but in less than two Weeks after he was released from them bonds, for the Lord removed him out of this evil World, that he might reward him with *Life Everlasting in the World to come*. And when I had been certain daies in *London*, it was appointed me to go down into *Surry, Sussex and Kent*, which accordingly I did, and visited Friends in *Surry*, and had some very good Meetings among them to their and my refreshment in the Lord, being accompanied with my dear Brother *Joseph Facer*. And afterwards we went to *Horsham* in *Sussex*, and visited our Friends and Brethren that were then and there in Prison; and afterwards we had some good Meetings in that County; and I being at a Meeting at *Heist*, was in much danger of being apprehended thro the envy of a wicked Priest, but the Lord restrained the Officers from executing his Will, and therefore I was preserved out of their hands.

And after that we passed into *Kent* (visiting Friends in our Travel and their Meetings, as our manner was) and at *Staplehurst* we had a precious General Meeting, after which we parted even in the fulness of brotherly Love. He went back into *Sussex* again, and I went towards *Dover*. And when I came to *Post-horne*, and being there at a General Meeting, there came the Officers of the Town, and I being speaking when they came into the Meeting, they apprehended me and carried me before the *Mayor* of the Town, who being pretty moderate, would finally have set me at Liberty, if I would but have promised him, that if I went to the Meeting again, I would speak no more in it, which thing I could not in any wise promise, and gave him my reason why I could not: so then he came to

How he was apprehended & discharged in one day.

Pri-



Prison: And that same day afterwards we were twice before the Mayor (there being others with me) who finally that night discharged us all.

After that I took leave of Friends there (it being the full day of the first Month 1662.) and went to Dover, where I had a very good serviceable and refreshing Meeting among Friends; and being refreshed together in the presence of the Lord, I left them and went to a General Meeting in East Kent, and from thence to Canterbury, and from thence to Rochester, (visiting Friends) and from thence to London.

And when I came there I said several daies in that City where I had several good and precious Meetings. And afterwards (accordingly as it was upon me) I went from thence into the Countrey again in order to my returning over for Holland, and several good and precious Meetings I had in the Countrey at my return, and mine and Friends grew to be many in the Lord.

And when the Lord of his mercy had thus prospered my  
 journey, and made it thus successful, he also gave me a good  
 opportunity to return again for Holland, where in due time I  
 arrived about the Tenth of the Second Month, 1667. I had  
 mine and Friends great refreshment in that Country, and espe-  
 cially to the refreshment of my dear Wife, with whom I  
 had not very long as her Habitation, but as it was upon me  
 went from City to City visiting Friends and their Meetings,  
 and the Lord was with me, in whose living presence we were  
 refreshed together as in Months past.

But I had not staid above three Months in those parts, until it was upon me to go for England again. And about that time my dear Wife having kindred desires (with some other Friends at Amsterdam) to see Friends in England. She and they designed to go along with me, which accordingly they did, and thro' the good hand of the Lord we got to *Harwich* about the 20th of the 4th Month 63. where we had a very good Meeting with Friends, to their antient refreshment. And from thence went to *God's-bury*, where we also had a gallant Meeting. And on the first day following we were at another Meeting in the Country, unto which many Friends and others resorted, and when I came there August 1st to my wife's stable

able had been there before me, and how he was determined to come again to break up the Meeting; however, when Friends were gathered I went in among them in the Name and Power of the Lord; and when I had said but a little in the Meeting, my heart was full of the Word of Life, which I had to communicate to the Congregation, and a very gallant and precious Meeting it was. And when I had done speaking, and was late down, the Consable came into the Meeting with his Warrant subscribed by several Justices, but he knew not me from the rest. Moreover, there being a Woman Friend speaking, he troubled himself a little with her, but afterwards he went away, and my Liberty was preserved for future service, thro' the mercy and goodness of the Lord God. And afterwards we visited Friends at *Coxhall* and *Whitburn*, to their and our refreshment in the Lord.

And in some short time after we went up to *London*, where we were much refreshed with Friends, who rejoiced more than a little to see people of another Nation, and of a strange Language, brought into the same living Truth in which they were established, and to bear the same image that they bore, and to be comprehended in the same Love, which the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, had shed abroad to richly among them. And when we had been very sweetly refreshed with Friends in several precious Meetings, and elsewhere in the City, we went to *Kingstone* to a General Meeting there, where one of the Dutch Friends was moved to speak pretty much in the Meeting, and I interpreted for her, with which Friends were much affected and refreshed, feeling the same Life and power in her that dwelt in us, giving Testimony to the same eternal Truth; this, I say, did much refresh Friends, and confirm them in the present Truth.

After that we returned to *London* again, where we were refreshed the second time as before; but we staid not long there then, for it was upon me to go into the *North*; and it was upon my dear Wife, and the rest of Friends, to return again for *Holland*; and in order thereunto, I with several other dear Friends, did accompany them aboard, where I took my leave of them, and committed them to the custody and protection of the Almighty.

## C. A. A. P. XXIX.

*His Journey into the North, and what Counties he passed throug  
His Service and refreshment among Friends in the North. His  
Determination of returning for Holland: what danger he was  
in by Sea, but thro' mercy delivered out of it.*

Ann. 1663.

Warwick-  
shire.Stafford-  
shire.  
Derbyshire.

Derbyshire.

Notting-  
hamshire.

Yorkshire.

Swarth-  
more.

And in a short time after I did also take my leave of Friends in the City, and did take my Journey Northwards; and when I came into *Warwickshire*, there I did meet with my dear Friend *Margaret Fell*, and with two of her dear Children, as also with two dear Brethren (*viz.*) *Thomas Salt-house*, and *Leonard Fell*, and truly our refreshment was more than a little in the Lord, having not seen one another in a long time before. And we travelled together into *Staffordshire*, and there parted, some went for the North, some for *Derbyshire*, and I returned again to a General Meeting in *Warwickshire*, and went afterwards to *Warwick*, *Coventry*, &c. and visited Friends in several places in that County, where I also met with dear *George Fox* to my refreshment. And after that I went into *Derbyshire*, and had a Meeting in the City of *Derby*, and visited Friends elsewhere in that County. And afterwards went into some part of *Nottinghamshire*, where I met with dear *M. F.* again, and we went afterwards to *Chesterfield* where we had a very good Meeting. And afterwards we went into *Yorkshire* (visiting Friends as we went) to a place called *Sinderhill Green*, where dear *G. F.* met us: and there we had a gallant General Meeting together.

And afterwards we went to *Balbie*, where we staid some daies, and many Friends resorted thither: so that a gallant time of refreshment we had together. And after that I took my leave of Friends, for it was upon me to hasten towards *Swarthmore* in *Lancashire*, which accordingly I did, but visited Friends by the way as my manner was, to their and my refreshment in the Lord.

And in due time, thro' the goodness of the Lord, I got well to *Swarthmore*, where I had not been in some years before: and

and there I was received in abundance of Love, and very sweetly I was refreshed with the remainder of the Family. And when the First day came, a very gallant and precious Meeting we had, to the refreshing of the whole body of Friends that were then and there present, for the power and presence of the Lord God was much amongst us, which was the cause of our so great refreshment in the Lord, blessed be his Name for ever and ever.

After that I went to *Lancaster*, *Kendall*, and other places, and visited Friends in those parts to their and my great refreshment. And it was upon me to go into *Cumberland*, which accordingly I did, so far as to the City of *Carlisle*, where I visited Friends in Prison, and there (even in the Prison) I had a very precious refreshing Meeting; and afterwards I visited Friends in several parts of that County, to their and my great refreshment in the Lord.

And when I was clear of that County, I returned again to *Swarthmore*, and there I found dear G. F. and dear M. F. was also returned home, which tended to the augmenting of my refreshment in that place, which was great at that time with them, the Family, and Friends; but I had not been long there until it was upon me to return again for *Holland*; but in the interim I went over to *Lancashire* to a General Meeting which was therein the *Affice Week*, and some occasion I had with some of the Justices, as in reference to a Certificate, which three of them granted me under their Hands and Seals, there being then reports of a Plot, and for preventing my being stopp'd upon suspicion without cause I had their Certificate, and returned again to *Swarthmore*, where I stayed but a little, until I took my leave of them there in the fulness of endeared Love, with pretty much brokenness of heart, and so I left them, being accompanied with several of the Brethren into *Westmoreland*; and after we were much refreshed together there, we took leave one of another, and parted asunder in the same Love and Unity in which we had been so plentifully refreshed together.

And afterwards I travelled into the *Bishoprick*, and visited Friends there, and went to *Durham*, and visited them there that were in Prison; and from thence I went to *Sunderland*,  
M. and

and had a General Meeting betwixt ~~Sweden~~ and the ~~Shetlands~~.  
 And upon enquiry after Shipping for ~~Holland~~, I heard of several that were preparing to go over; but the Wind being contrary, and I being desirous to visit more Friends did Travel along the Country (not far from the Sea-side) visiting Friends as I travelled both at ~~Shotten~~, ~~Stotson~~, ~~Whinby~~, and elsewhere, and had some very good Meetings. And when I came to *Scarborough*, I heard of Vessels there also that were intended for ~~Holland~~. And after I had had a very good opportunity with Friends there, to their and my refreshment, the Wind being fair, and the Ships ready to Sail, I took my leave of Friends there, and went aboard; but soon after we met with contrary winds; however, we got up so far as *Yarmouth Roads*, and after waiting a while, the weather being pretty good, we set sail again, intending to run over, if the Lord permitted: and when we were got about ten Leagues, I was much persuaded we should have a Storm, and told the Master of it, and would have had him returned again for *England*; but it being then indifferent Weather, he did not much mind my words, but endeavoured to put us forwards, tho' the Wind was contrary. But that night following, according to my persuasion and expectation, we had a very sore tempestuous Storm, and our Ship proved very leaky, so that what with pumping, and other extraordinary work, the men were exceedingly wearied and toiled; and as to outward appearance we were in much danger, for about the very height of the Storm in the night season we lost the use of the Helm for a season, so that the poor men were in great distress: And in the mean time my Soul interceded to the most High, who heard my requests and granted my desires; tho' for my own part, I was freely given up to the blessed will of the Lord; if it had been to have made my Grave in those great Depths. But the Lord was determined to show mercy unto us, which evidently appeared thro' his bringing of us thro' such apparent danger among the *Sandies*, even finally back to the *English* Coasts again; For which extraordinary mercy my soul hath cause for ever to bless, praise, and magnify his glorious Name.

Afterwards we ran well (tho' contrary) into *Yarmouth Roads*, and tho' the Wind remaining contrary, we put into the

Eminent  
 danger, &  
 eminent  
 deliverance.

Ha-



Haven, and I went up to the *Town*, where I waited some daies for the Wind: And in the mean time the First day of the Week came, and it was upon me to go to the Meeting of Friends, which accordingly I did; and about the end of it, there came several Officers and Souldiers, and apprehended seven Friends, besides my self (that were strangers in the *Town*, five of which belonged to one Vessel) and they carried us to the Main Guard, where they kept us that night, and very good Service we had with the Officers among the Souldiers; and the next morning we were brought before the Bayliffs of the *Town*, who tendered us the Oath of Allegiance, and because we refused to take it, or any Oath whatsoever, we were committed to Prison upon the Fourth day of the Eighth Month, 1663. and continued in Prison until the 21. of the Second Month 1664. and then I with the rest of my Fellow Prisoners were Discharged.

---

T H E E N D.

---



*A Copy of a Paper sent to John Otway, Justice  
of the Peace, concerning SWEARING.*

*My Friend,*

**T**HO I am little known to thee, or acquainted with thee,  
as to any *Converse* or *Conversation*, yet hearing of thy  
*sobriety*, and readines to *hear* and *enquire* into those  
things which are scrupled among *Christians*; and what  
may be said *for* or *against* any thing wherein every true *Christi-*  
*an* ought to be satisfied in his *mind*, before he can believe and  
receive it as a *Truth* (to have his *Conscience* obliged thereby),  
which I account a point of *Wisdom*, and not to take things  
upon *Trust*, and *Hear-say*, and *Tradition* as many do, without  
any further enquiry; Also understanding, that thou hast not  
a hand in *Persecuting* thy *Neighbour*, in bringing them into  
*Bonds*, and others which I know thou mightst have done, had  
not something in thy self limited thee beyond either *Law* or  
*Examples*, which I hope thou wilt never have cause to repent  
thee for: *For the Meek shall inherit the Earth*; and to the *Mer-*  
*ciful God sheweth Mercy*. And If ever there was an *Act* of *Mer-*  
*cy*, this is one, *To be tender of them that are tender of Gods*  
*Glory and Worship*, when so great severity hath been used against  
them that fear the Lord in their hearts, which is the *Seat* of the  
*Lords Judgment in Man*. Likewise hearing, that thou at a pub-  
lick Session at *Kendall* lately, in thy Charge or Speech in the  
Court, spake something about Oaths, and the lawfulness of  
them, and said that some gave false Glosses upon *Matth. 5.* and  
*James 5.* and did assert the Morality of them among *Christians*,  
and how the *Angel* Swore after *Christ* had given that *Command*;  
and shewed a necessity of them among *Christians*. The *Consi-*  
*deration* of these things, with some other, was an *inducement*  
unto me, to write these few things unto thee, and shall leave  
them to thy *Consideration*, and to the *Spirit of the Lord* in  
thy

thy self to Judge according to that, and seeing I am a Sufferer at this day, and a great one too, upon this account, which if I were not certainly perswaded upon good ground of the truth of that I have believed in this particular, I neither could nor would suffer for it; but I must not force an *implicit Faith* upon any, only Judging it may induce thee the more to consider what I say. I have had my share of long *Confessions* about this thing amongst my Brethren, and much hath been written about this particular by divers Hands, whether any of them ever reached thy hand or not; but however, I would not be tedious unto thee, and therefore shall contain my self in as narrow a compass as may be in so weighty a *matter*; for which many thousands have and are like to suffer.

*First of all*, There was a time when there was no Oaths, *When Man was made in the Image of God*, which consists in *Righteousness and true Holiness, Equity, long suffering, Patience, Goodness, Mercy and Truth*, wherein man was in a capacity to believe in God, and men to believe one another: this was in the beginning after the Heavens and the Earth was made, and all things that are therein; Then there were no Oaths, neither needed any, for *Truth* lived and man in it, and that spoke; and a certain *Testimony* there could not be, nor a greater: and this was before *Sin and Unbelief* entred.

2. Whosoever comes to witness a restoration again into the same Image by Christ, the second *Adam*, as all that are born of God and are true Christians indeed do come to, there will be nothing but *Truthspeaking* and ruling in the heart; and in the words: and Oaths ends.

3. But after man had transgressed, and eaten of the *Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*, and went from the power of God, and had broken the *Covenant of God*, he lost his wisdom, and folly entred; he lost *Truth* and a *Lye* entred and *Unbelief*: so that he believed not God, neither the Sons of *Adam* in the Fall could believe one another; and Sin being entred, and *Death* by it, *Deceit* grew fast and *Unbelief*, and but a few in a Generation bore the Image of God before the Flood, as *Abel, Enock and Seth*, and some few in comparison; and the rest generally corrupted their waies, and bore another Image, and went after the imagination of their own hearts, and set up Images and  
Idols;

Idols; and also after the Flood when the earth began to be replenished, the cursed Seed grew faster, and many great Nations became ignorant of the *True God*, and made Gods of Gold and Silver, Wood and Stone, and revered them, and Worshipped them, and stood in fear of them, and had them in esteem; and Swore by them as the greatest thing, and gloried in them.

4. *Abraham* who feared the Lord, and hearkned unto his Voice, whom the Lord singled out of many people, as a righteous Root of whom he would raise up a righteous Generation; and more righteous than the rest of the Nations, and made a Covenant with him, and he was called *The Father of the Faithful*, and was the Original of all the Tribes of *Israel*, and the thousands of the people; but the most of them became vain also, and as corrupt as other Nations. And the four hundred years that they had lived among the *Egyptians*, they learned too much their manners, and were much corrupted and darkened in their understandings, and therefore the Lord was wroth with them, and few were made partakers of the Promise, because of their Unbelief.

5. The Law was added because of Transgression four hundred and thirty years after the Promise was made; or as some account from the Creation two thousand years, which Law was given at *Sinai* to *Israel*, and not to the *Gentiles*; as it is written to *Jacob*, *He gave his Law to Israel, his Statutes to every Nation he did not so*; which Law some of latter times have divided into three parts, *Moral*, *Judaical*, and *Ceremonial*: which distinction I do not read of particularly in the Scripture. *Moral*, as that which pertaineth to the manner of *Israel*, how they ought to Worship God, and walk towards their Neighbour. *Ceremonial*, that which pertained to the Priests and People, as to Form or Discipline, which was shadowy. *Judaical*, as that which belonged to their Policy or State. The two last generally are acknowledged (if I may say parts of the Law) to be ended, and is not binding unto Christians; but the first part, some have said, is *Moral* and perpetual; the *discussing* of which would take up more time and reading than I intend to trouble thee with.



6. Seeing the Law; all of it was added because of (Transgression) that was the cause itsevident; If there had been no Transgression there had needed no addition of a Law, as a limit or rule: so whosoever comes thro Christ Jesus, to witness Transgression finished, and an end of Sin, they become dead to the Law (tho they are not without a Law to God) for it hath power over a man as long as he lives, to convict him, and Judge him; but being come to the Image of God against such, there is no Law, tho they are not without one, as I said, to God and his Christ.

7. But because the Lord would not suffer *Israel* to walk according to the Heathen, he in love to them, gave them a Law suitable to the State they were in before the Seed Christ was manifest, and the Covenant was suitable to their state; their minds was outward, and their Covenant was outward: their minds was mutable, their Covenant was so; and these pertained to a part above the Seed, and were shadows of good things to come, which ended all in Christ (tho not destroyed) so the Tabernacle, Temple, Priests, Oblations and Offerings; Sabbaths, Fasts, Feasts, Oaths, Tythes, Circumcision, and the like, tho they were all real Commands of God in their time, and continued unto the time of Reformation, that is, till the Law ended, and the Priesthood, Covenant and Hebrews.

8. It is granted by us in the Covenant, the Jews might Swear, and did in Truth and Righteousness, and were Commanded so to do, to Swear by the true God, and reverence his Name and sanctifie it; and least they should Swear as the Heathens did by their false Gods, and reverence them that are no Gods, he Commanded to Swear, and fear and reverence his Name that was the living God; and I look upon it as the low condescension of God, or stooping to them in their state they were in, because there was Unbelief in them; therefore to end strife they might Swear, and it was permitted them, even as it was to have a King when their hearts was set upon it; so the Lord considering their state, the Lord Swore by himself, for their sakes, and as they Swore by the greatest, so he by himself, being there was no greater to confirm the Truth of his words, because of the weakness of their Faith, or rather Unbelief.

9. But

9. But we do not read of all the Oaths amongst the Jews, for some there was that sealed an Oath, that ever they were imposed under any outward penalties; as they have been of late among Christians in name; but for all the Scriptures and Examples that have been or can be brought, to prove Oaths lawful under that Ministration and Covenant to lave all men the labour, who would contend for the Jews Swearing, we allow the same and assent to them; so thus them that will contend and prove Swearing, then they shall contend without an Adversary for me or that People I own in Judgment.

10. But the great thing that seems to carry all the weight on its back, is the Morality of it still among Christians, as some plead; unto which I answer, Was not the Sabbath of the Jews, as Moral of that of Oaths, or any other Command in the Ten, or elsewhere, which I have heard some Parish Priests say was Moral and perpetual among Christians, and yet they themselves break it by practice; the Command reached only to the Seventh day, and who so alters it, lets up another thing, and then how is it Moral. The like Doctrine they teach about Oaths, and hath darkned peoples understandings without distinguishing betwixt time and time, and Ministration and Ministration; but some say, *Christ came not to destroy the Law Moral but to fulfil it*; it is granted again, some say, tho they very far strain the words in the third Commandment, we are not only forbidden to take Gods Name in vain, but to sanctifie by praying, praising, and Swearing upon occasion: If I grant all these under the Gospel in force, in the substance as under the Law; I say, leave nothing of the shadow, or Type, or Ceremony, as to be standing or binding among Christians (as it is not.) Its granted, the substance of all had nothing of force under the Gospel: For the Law had a Shadow of good things to come that came by *Moses*, but the Grace, the Truth came by *Jesus Christ*, the substance (and he is the substance) and he living in a Christian, speaks and testifies the Truth, and there need no other in any Judicature, and that was never denied by us but often profered, but seldom received. Incheise was the Ceremony of praying and praising, but the substance is lifting up the heart to the Lord, from the motion of his Spirit. and Praising is making melody in the heart to the Lord. And Cir-

Circumcision of the heart is the substance of the Circumcision in the Flesh, *Rom. 2.* And Christ is the substance of the Passover; and Christ is the substance of that Shaddow or Ceremony of Swearing, and that which every Christian ought to do, is to speak the Truth, and to testify the Truth from the heart, and this is the substance, and that which is required under the Gospel; and this we never refused, and this divers learned men hath confessed is the sum; read *Isa. 45. 23.* and compare *Rom. 14. & 11.* and so is Confession of a Truth, and testifying the same about any matter, be not equivalent with an Oath under the Law.

11. As for *Matthew 5.* and *James 5.* we give no glosses upon them, but do receive the words as they are, the Precepts of Christ and *James*; and we cannot allow all those Glossers, who would pervert their words from their jenuine sence, which we take clearly to be a limitation from all Swearing whatsoever under the Gospel; and not only in Communication, but even before all men, and at all times; not only from vain Oaths, and false Swearing, and by the Creatures, but from all Swearing whatsoever, the Scripture is so evident and so clear, that its much that any should stumble at the Commands; the very stop of the Chapter clears the thing; yea, even some who have contended against us, have been made to confess that the perfection of obedience required under the Gospel, was above that the Mosaical Law did exact or reach; and from these Scriptures, so *Dr. Gauden* and *Usher*, the one contended against the Quakers, the other for the *Waldenses* against the *Romanists*. Christ saith of old time it hath been said, *Thou shalt not kill*; *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*; *Thou shalt not forswear thy self*, not by the Creatures; and if they were not to Swear by them alone, nor the Altar, neither Head nor Foot, then, why now by the Bible or upon a Book, seeing that its made of Creatures? But its said by the Contents of the Book what doth the Book contain more then true words; and if the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain him, I am sure the Book cannot. Away with this Imposed Traditional Ceremony. But Christ saith, *Whosoever is angry with his Brother, is in danger of Judgment.* And again, *Love your Enemies*; And *whofo looks upon a woman, and lusteth after her, hath committed Adultery*: But I say,

*I say, Swear not at all, but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, whatsoever is more cometh of Evil; So that its evident he speaks of a further perfection of obedience under the Gospel, than under the Law: For if it be only vain Oaths and false Swearing, and by the Creatures that he prohibits, then the Law had said as much, and he said no more than the Law, for these were reprov'd by the Law; but its manifest he required a more exact obedience than under the Law; and likewise those things that had been permitted because of the hardness of their hearts, he took away and brought them by his Doctrine to that state which was in the beginning before darkness and hardness was. And as concerning the Angels Swearing, to which of the Angels said he, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?* And again, *I bring forth my first begotten Son, and let the Angels worship him:* and therefore the Ministration of the Son is above the Angels, and both Angels and their Ministration are to give way unto Christ, and he must be worshipp'd; and no example of either Angels or men ought or can violate the Commands of Christ.*

12. It was a Doctrine believed and received among the Primitive Christians not to Swear at all, that there was no question made of it, tho in the times of Persecution, when their Liberties and Lives lay upon it, yet they denied to Swear, and keep in the first Gospel Doctrine taught, and would not violate it. A Cloud of Witnesses I might bring to confirm the truth of what I say in that particular, but that I intend this only as a Manuscript and no further; so I will not be tedious, but only take a few Fathers whose Doctrine is generally received. *Origen* saith, It behooves not a man, who lives according to the Gospel, to Swear at all. *Chrysostome* forbids not only Swearing, but to Swear at all. *Jerom*, The Gospel Truth admits not of an Oath. *Austin*, Any man that is a common Swearer, no more credit can be given than to a Liar, a thing too much in use in our Age, yet none debarred from Swearing in Judicature. *Jerom* upon Mat. 5. and *James* 5. These are his words, *It was permitted to the Jews, being in wickedness and infancie to offer Sacrifice to God, lest they should Sacrifice to Idols, so they might Swear by God, not that it was rightfull so to do, but because it was better to Swear by the Lord, than by false Gods or Devils; but the great Evangelical Sincerity and Truth admits not of an Oath,*

Oath, since every True Saying is equivalent therunto. Theopha-  
last, Hillary, Athanasius, Theodoret, and Lactantius, and others  
taught much against Swearing without any limitation. Polybi-  
us observes in the best and purest times, and simplest Ages of the  
World, Oaths were never used in Judicature; but after Unbel-  
ief and Lying increased, Oaths increased. Justin Martyr  
saith, It was enough security in all Cases to say, I am a Christian;  
and if any Oath either for matter or manner was tendered,  
they repeated this as the only satisfaction they could give, I am  
a Christian. Polycarpus and Basilides, both Martyrs, denied to  
Swear at all, and what is this become such a strange, new, and  
dangerous Doctrin amongst us in those days that profess Chri-  
tianity; as that now are reckoned good Members either of  
Church or State but Swearers, But I have done, desiring thee  
to peruse these things over in the same love that I writ them,  
and what ever thou dost hold thy hand from Persecution, for  
assuredly God will bring a rebuke upon the Nation for it, and  
all them that withstand the Lord in his People. Farewel.

Thy True Friend,

Francis Howgill.

A